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Commonweal

*A Weekly Review
of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs*

Friday, April 16, 1937

THE SUPREME COURT DEBATE

John A. Ryan

William Franklin Sands

COMMUNISM: FASCISM

Luigi Sturzo

RELIGION AND LIBERTY

An Editorial

*Other articles and reviews by Helen Walker Homan,
William M. Agar, Michael Williams, J. Elliot Ross,
Theodore Maynard, George N. Shuster and Harry McGuire*

VOLUME XXV

NUMBER 25

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Published weekly and copyrighted, 1937, in the United States, by the Calvert Publishing Corporation, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
 Entered as second-class matter, February 9, 1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.
 United States: \$5.00; Canada: \$5.50; Foreign: \$6.00. Single Copies: \$.10.

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RELIGION AND LIBERTY

SINCE 1924, when The Calvert Associates were incorporated as an educational and cultural society, especially devoted to the propagation of the American principles of religious and civic liberty primarily through the publication of its weekly organ, THE COMMONWEAL, the founding of the Commonwealth of Maryland by the English Pilgrims has been commemorated by religious or civic celebrations. Led by Lord Calvert, the pilgrims debarked from the Ark and the Dove on March 25, 1634, the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. That feast, falling this year on Holy Thursday, was observed by the Universal Church on April 5.

The Catholics who form the majority of the members of The Calvert Associates and the supporters of THE COMMONWEAL have always considered it their Catholic as well as their civic duty to cooperate with other American citizens of all forms of religious affiliation in all sensible efforts

to preserve and perpetuate the principles laid down in our Constitution and the Bill of Rights. These principles were first expressed by such Commonwealths as Maryland, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Virginia and New York.

At this time, when throughout the world various forms of state tyranny, based upon the principles of materialistic atheism or of the supremacy of national or racial ideologies, are developing, and when the poisonous influences of such revolutionary perversions of democracy are affecting even our own country, it is more practically necessary than ever before for all inheritors of the true traditions springing from the recognition of God as the source of human liberties and human dignity and justice, to collaborate in the defense of our threatened liberties. These liberties must not only be defended from attack but their principles must be emphasized again and again.

Such was the purpose of the celebration in New

York, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, April 5, of the Mass of Thanksgiving to Divine Providence for the present conditions of liberty and neighborly good-will which, despite occasional lapses and disturbing problems, today exist in our republic. The Mass was further a petition for Divine assistance to our people in their efforts to maintain these truly human conditions which alone are conducive to a tolerable civilization.

To all our many friends, among whom were many representative Protestant and Jewish leaders in public affairs, we of THE COMMONWEAL express sincere gratitude for their part in making the commemoration the notable affair it truly was. Our particular thanks go, first, to His Eminence Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York, for his gracious message of greeting and commendation as to the appropriate character of our celebration. Next, of course, to Monsignor Lavelle, rector of the cathedral, and to his staff, both clerical and lay. To those who actually offered up the Divine Sacrifice, to the celebrant, Father T. Lawrason Riggs—of our own editorial council—to the deacon, Father George B. Ford, and the subdeacon, Father Henry P. Fisher, C.S.P., a special gratitude is due, and will be expressed, we hope, in the renewed vigor of our work. So, too, very particularly we thank Father John La Farge, S.J., associate editor of *America*, the preacher of the occasion, whose inspiring sermon was so singularly expressive of the spirit of the celebration.

In our correspondence columns will be found many letters, or extracts from letters, from highly distinguished leaders in Church and state and city. No words of ours could add anything to the obvious truth and present importance of the letter from the President of the United States, which was as follows:

"The lesson of religious toleration—a toleration which recognizes complete liberty of human thought, liberty of human conscience—is one which, by precept and example, must be inculcated in the hearts and minds of all Americans if the institutions of our democracy are to be maintained and perpetuated.

"We must recognize the fundamental rights of man. There can be no true national life in our democracy unless we give unqualified recognition to freedom of religious worship and freedom of education. We have not forgotten, nor ever shall forget, the noble service in the cause of religious toleration rendered by the Calverts in Maryland three centuries ago. It gives me pleasure, therefore, to learn that THE COMMONWEAL, organ of The Calvert Associates, has arranged to celebrate in St. Patrick's Cathedral next Monday the 303rd anniversary of the founding of Maryland, and Maryland's part in the establishment of religious liberty in America.

"I have learned also with peculiar satisfaction that THE COMMONWEAL believes that rarely before in our history have prospects for achieving permanent harmony among the various elements composing our nation been so propitious as at the present time. I rejoice in this assurance. I pledge myself at this solemn commemoration, with all the resources at my command, to work for so happy a consummation. My prayer shall ever be that this nation, under God, may vindicate through all coming time the sanctity of the right of all within our borders to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience."

For The Calvert Associates, and the staff of THE COMMONWEAL, and also, we are confident, for the ever-growing body of our readers throughout the nation, the celebration, with its important public aspects, marked the beginning of the period to which we have looked forward expectantly for many years—the period of THE COMMONWEAL's expansion all along the line: in circulation, in advertising, and, therefore, in our self-support (for we do not operate as a profit-making enterprise), but, above all, in its influence, and its usefulness to the general public.

Our experiment in lay literary action is becoming a permanent plan. We are confident that the good results of the plan will soon become apparent to all who have so loyally aided our work—and also to the new friends and co-operators who, we believe, will associate themselves with those who have had firm faith in the future of our work, even when that work was not understood by others.

Our Board of Directors has been fortunate in securing the assistance of the Honorable Joseph P. Kennedy, formerly Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission and recently appointed by the President to head the new Maritime Commission. A plan for the adequate financing of THE COMMONWEAL is to be sponsored by Mr. Kennedy, and already steps have been taken to bring it to the attention of our numerous well-wishers.

We are privileged to announce that Mr. John J. Burns, formerly of the faculty of law at Harvard University, later a justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, and afterward General Counsel of the Securities and Exchange Commission, has accepted a place on our Board of Directors. Judge Burns will assist Mr. Kennedy in the program of financing THE COMMONWEAL.

To the greater work that lies ahead, THE COMMONWEAL, in the spirit that animated the impressive ceremony in St. Patrick's Cathedral on the anniversary of the Founding of Religious Liberty, rededicates all its purposes, and its fullest energies—and begs from all its friends of the past and the present a continuance of their friendly interest and support.

Week by Week

ANOTHER week of seething labor unrest has passed, and on the surface it almost looks as if the stability of industrial relations has been undermined for a long time to come. Detroit in particular is witnessing an upheaval of the most serious kind, and many believe that the conflict there involves basic conceptions of democracy. The real point is whether the tactics employed by Governor Frank Murphy will ultimately bring about a measure of real peace, or whether the door is now opened to trouble of a still more dangerous kind. Throughout everything that has happened, the Governor has refused to believe that violence would be useful. Optimistically believing that just settlements are possible, and that attainment of justice in one or the other case will restore confidence in the principle of the common good, he has tried to substitute his own diplomatic talents for action by the police and the militia. Enemies of the Governor believe that to date his policy has only made the situation worse, and that the sole possible recipe is to carry out the letter of the law and evict the strikers. In Connecticut, for example, a policy of "no sit-downs" has been vigorously enunciated; and in the weeks that lie ahead, it will undoubtedly be put to a test. We suggest that it is still too early for definitive commentaries on the subject. Time alone can tell whether Governor Murphy has chosen the right road. It cannot be argued that it was necessarily the easiest to travel. Ours being a form of government that makes officials dependent upon the will of the people, the Governor may, of course, have found it expedient to act against the convictions of large and powerful groups. After that, however, he has recourse to hard work on the basis of clearly enunciated moral principles. No one will deny that he has tried, and tried heroically, to find a release for passions capable of destroying democracy.

THE NATION is in some danger of witnessing the failure of its system for relieving the dire effects of unemployment. At the moment the principal difficulties are these: the inability of communities to find or finance local work projects of value to the public

as well as morally helpful to those given jobs; and the lack of means for transferring labor to private industry under satisfactory conditions. Quite briefly the difficulty may be characterized as inelasticity. The problem was one thing in 1932, and is quite another in 1937. Nobody has found the key to the dynamism which underlies approaches to this great question, upon which the

fate of millions is completely dependent. It is therefore quite conceivable that the whole system may suddenly be dropped, leaving the newer social security legislation as the sole bulwark against want. That would be deplorable. Quite apart from immediate humanitarian service, which the President's agencies have surely managed to render, the effort to date embodies a wealth of experience and information upon which the nation might draw to excellent advantage could it be reduced to a number of practical formulae. Unfortunately this seems impossible. In Mr. Harry Hopkins one sees an excellent directing intelligence, remarkably able as a propagandizing force behind good ideas. But criticism of the practical management of relief is surely in order. Right now we still do not know how many worthy persons are unemployed, or what can conceivably be done to help them more or less permanently. We have no conception of what plan will be devised to care for chronic joblessness. Finally we are without any clear picture of what kind of management would prove most efficient.

WE ARE approaching the season which is peculiarly that of the young priest. His studies completed and his sacred vows waiting to be spoken, he is so visibly an incarnation of the Church's vision of the sacrificial life that one, beholding him, scarcely knows whether to admire the heroism he enshrines or to be moved by the pathos of his situation. For the world is against him. It will send its most subtle agents to destroy what he builds. One of its emissaries will always struggle to find the key to his heart. And round about him will surge the din of those who profess what he has been commissioned to attack—lust, cruelty, greed, mercilessness. He will be shouted down; and sometimes he will lose confidence in the power of his own voice. Too much, far too much, is expected of him. If he should know a moment of failure, his friends will be there to note it and write it in their remembrances. If he succeeds, his loneliness will only increase. But he will learn to find places of refuge from these things. Always and forever the wounded spirits of his people will lie quivering under his healing touch. There will be no moment when sin fails to wait for the forgiveness he can bring, or sorrow is too proud to thirst for his consolation. And beyond that he will, sometimes at least, know that the Master is in one room with him. Therefore the Catholic people kneel and pray earnestly for their priests, that Heaven may send them good cheer and unwavering courage. How could it be otherwise? In thus praying the people plead for themselves. They should have no place on earth to go if the anointed of the Lord did not abide with them.

I
Shall
Arise

IT IS in the West and the Middle West especially, it seems to us, that the liturgical movement,

Catholicism of Catholic Action, displays its most vigorously popular developments. Easterners have difficulty

always, particularly those of Boston and New York and Philadelphia, and other huge cities, in saving themselves from becoming provincial. The Westerners take a more broadly Catholic view of things. An editor of this paper recently dropped off a train in a Minnesota town at a dismally early hour. Half awake, he found his way to a hotel, mentally criticizing the absence of a fleet of taxis, early news-boys, and other signs of New York's hectic noctambulism (which has its morbid charm!). He found his way to a church, however, where he was lifted out of his provincial mood, and above all sectional thoughts, by discovering a congregation of several hundreds of men and women and children, nearly all of them using their missals, truly understanding the Great Work of the Altar, and participating in it. Naturally, later on, he discovered that he was in the neighborhood of St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota: that highly practical power-house for the generation and distribution of the spiritual and intellectual and artistic energies of Catholicism. Here the Benedictines are functioning as they did when they transformed Europe out of chaos into civilization, and in ways conformable to the problems of our own darkening times. When American Catholics unite, through Catholic Action, remaining loyal to their own states and sections, but putting aside petty divisions, how will they not uplift not only themselves but their neighbors as well!

RENOVATORS of an old Newport mansion, having removed a number of wall panels, came

upon a series of murals descriptive of Chinese life. No one knows how they were placed there or when. Evidently they were not to the taste of later residents who

unceremoniously buried them and therewith presented a conundrum to the 1937 interrogator. But how much the fact that they are still there tells us about the United States of long ago. Its was a pleasantly decorous society, created by wealthy burghers of seemingly unimpeachable integrity. They built fine houses, the charming hostesses of which were famed no less for virtue than for beauty and amiability. By no means apers of the British nobility, they built their mansions according to English models with a grace and solidity all their own. It is true that hordes of immigrants were poorly housed in the shabbiest of mill-towns, and that the "servant class" was a quite perpetual reminder of the limited applicabil-

ity of certain phrases in the Declaration of Independence. But these phenomena were disturbing only to some. The world was still too close to slavery for general concern with such barriers. We have come a long way since then. Often we not injudiciously sigh for the simplicity and comeliness of those days—we who are in the midst of transitions the outcome of which no one can foresee. Yet on the other hand, our very restlessness can have an ethical content of the greatest importance and value. If we are really passing through a crisis of the moral conscience and not merely an elemental economic disturbance, we may eventually be able to establish a civilization of which our ancestors, for all their Chinese murals, could not have dreamed.

IN ANY discussion among physicians as to the causes or cures of specific diseases, there is a technical element which the layman

Health
Advance

cannot readily follow, and happily also a more practical element in which he is completely at home.

For instance, even in spite of the advance in common knowledge regarding tissue diseases, no uninstructed person can keep pace with the clash of medical opinion as to the reason for cancer. But if there is an apparent cure being worked out for some types of this scourge in treatment by radium, no special medical knowledge is needed to seize this fact. Doctors do not yet agree as to the root causes of pernicious anemia, and the layman cannot be expected even to follow the routes of their divergence. But every layman knows that raw liver will keep pernicious anemia in check. It is one of the causes for common thanksgiving today that so many of these deadly ills have been mastered, even in part; and that what we have called the practical knowledge of this fact has spread so widely that almost everyone now knows where to seek aid for their treatment. A fresh reminder of this fact was furnished by the recent conference of metropolitan health officials in New York City, which brought out the wonderful progress in combating pneumonia and rickets. It will startle many to read that the deaths in the city from the former have been so high in the last three years—one in every eleven. But the experiments with various serums have been encouragingly successful; and as the serum treatment is given free to those who cannot afford to pay for it, physicians have a good deal of warrant for speaking of the imminent conquest of the disease. Rickets, the malady of childhood, is of course under even more perfect control, scientifically speaking. And as the information about it is pretty thoroughly disseminated today, and as the free milk stations increase, the practical means of combating it are also being brought more and more within people's reach.

THE SUPREME COURT DEBATE

I. COURT REFORM AND MINORITIES

By JOHN A. RYAN

SOME of the objections to the President's proposal for reorganizing the Supreme Court are curious and extraordinary. Possibly the most curious and the most extraordinary is that which is brought forward ostensibly on behalf of religious minorities. It usually takes substantially this form: A few years ago the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a Nebraska law under which an instructor was prosecuted for teaching the German language in a Lutheran parochial school; a short time later the Court nullified an Oregon law which forbade children below the eighth grade to attend any other than public schools; some day the Supreme Court might again be called upon to review laws of this character and even to pass upon a federal statute which, under the pretext of promoting the "general welfare," would prohibit the existence and functioning of the Catholic Church—or some other church; the religious minorities have a particular interest in preserving the independence of the Supreme Court; therefore, they should oppose the President's plan for reorganizing the Court.

All the foregoing clauses are correct except the last two. As it stands, the second last suggests that religious minorities should be more concerned about the maintenance of an independent judiciary than any other group in the community. Obviously this is not true. All other minority groups and some majority groups would be in danger of injury if the independence of the courts were destroyed. As for the last sentence in the immediately preceding paragraph, it will not be accepted by any person who examines the facts and probabilities critically or realistically.

So far as I have observed, no one has had the temerity to assert that Mr. Roosevelt will appoint men to the Supreme Court who would uphold any law, state or federal, that interfered with religious rights. The alleged danger would, therefore, come from the Court at some future time when its personnel had been changed by some future President. The objection that we are now considering assumes that some successor of President Roosevelt would appoint men to the Supreme

Discussion of the President's suggestion for altering the Supreme Court is hardly less intense now than it was some weeks ago. To one assertion Monsignor Ryan replies, with the object of proving that the President's plan would not expedite the making of laws hostile to religious minorities. Too much reliance must not be placed on the Court as a "protector of Catholic rights." Mr. Sands thinks the debate involves basic issues and urges that needed legislation and not the men who are to interpret it be discussed.—The Editors.

Bench who were willing to disregard the rights of religious minorities, or would be able to compel the Court to commit this political and judicial crime.

While neither of these hypothetical events is either metaphysically or physically impossible,

they are both extremely improbable. Nevertheless, we shall assume that something of this sort will happen, say, sometime within the next twenty years. Let us assume first that Congress will enact a statute outlawing parochial schools or otherwise interfering with the civil rights of Catholics. This assumption is, in turn, dependent upon another assumption, namely, the election of a definitely anti-Catholic Congress. Let us assume that this highly improbable event occurs. In passing, it must be noted that the only constitutional provision under which Congress could plausibly enact a bill of this sort is that which authorizes it "to promote the general welfare." The law would be contested before the Supreme Court on the ground that it violates that clause of the Fifth Amendment which forbids Congress to deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law. If the Court is sufficiently anti-Catholic or sufficiently under the domination of either Congress or the President, it will uphold the law and thus destroy freedom of education or freedom of religion.

What connection would this deplorable decision have with the Court reorganization proposal advocated by Mr. Roosevelt? How could this proposal reasonably be regarded as in any degree responsible for this future event? By the time it would occur, the personnel of the Court would have been entirely different from what it is now and completely different from what it will be after the appointments desired by Mr. Roosevelt have been made.

Apparently the opponents of the President's proposal that we are now considering would answer that the bad precedent which the President seeks to set up would move a future Congress and President and Supreme Court to render such an unjust decision. It is difficult to take this assertion seriously. Something more than the Roosevelt

proposal enacted into law would be required to bring about the election of a bigoted Congress and a bigoted President and a bigoted Court decision. A precedent created today would exert but a feeble influence twenty years hence. On the other hand, if public opinion should become so perverse as to elect such a Congress and such a President and if the Court should so disregard all previous judicial precedents as to be willing to render such a decision, the Roosevelt precedent would have become totally irrelevant and unnecessary. The bad law would come and the wrong decision would come, regardless of anything that Roosevelt does today. The assumption that Mr. Roosevelt's proposal, if enacted into law, would produce this long-distance revolutionary result is one of the most feeble and unrealistic that has ever been excogitated.

Let us consider now the hypothesis of a state law forbidding the operation of parochial schools. That actually happened a few years ago in the state of Oregon. In this situation there would be no need of any action by Congress. All that is necessary is that some state should enact such a law and that the courts should disregard the decision in the Oregon case and hold that the new statute does not violate the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Of course, we have to assume that before the supposed law arrives at the Supreme Court, some future President or Presidents have appointed one or more judges who are either bigoted themselves or completely dominated by a bigoted President. Once confirmed by the Senate, the appointees to the Court would, of course, be under no legal compulsion to obey the President's behests; so we must suppose that they would be following their own inclinations in holding such an unjust statute constitutional. As in the case of the obnoxious federal statute, we ask here, how could Roosevelt's Court reorganization proposal influence or become responsible for the future decision that we are considering? We repeat, too, that a Court and President that were determined to produce this evil result would do so anyhow, regardless of remote and feeble precedents.

Whether the deplorable decision concerned a state or a federal law, it would imply a previous revolution in public opinion concerning civil and religious rights. It would mean that the people had elected a Congress willing to set aside the constitutional guarantees covering these rights, or that they had elected a Senate willing to confirm bigoted judges, or that they were upholding the dictatorial action of a President in dominating the members of the Court. In any of these situations, neither favorable nor unfavorable precedents would exert any significant influence.

There is much loose talk today about some future President becoming a dictator. If we are

to think with precision and without sloppiness, we must clearly understand what we mean by this term. If we think of a dictator as one who acts entirely within the law and the Constitution and who attains his mastery by persuasion or prestige, we must assume that he has back of him the majority of the people. And that is democracy. If we assume that he disregards the law and the Constitution, then we must suppose either that he has an army at his back which he arbitrarily uses to enforce his decrees, or that he has the support of overwhelming public opinion. In either case, we have genuine dictatorship. In any event, a Court decision upholding a law which destroyed any of the rights of religious minorities would be impossible without a revolution in public opinion. Given such a revolution, the obnoxious decision would come, regardless of precedents.

In passing, let us point out that those persons ignore both history and psychology who think that the Supreme Court would provide an effective protection against genuine dictatorship. When the favorable conditions arrive, a dictator would be able to ignore not only Congress but also the Court and the Constitution.

Moreover, too much reliance is placed by some Catholics upon the Supreme Court as a protector of Catholic rights. So far as I know, the decision in the Oregon school case is the only one in all our history which supports this assumption. It would be more prudent and more democratic to put more trust in the selection of the right kind of legislators than to place all our reliance upon the judiciary. Not the least of the advantages of the former method would be its effect in educating our fellow citizens concerning the reasonableness of our claims.

The menace to Catholic interests from the harmful precedent assumed to be latent in the President's Court reorganization proposal is very much less than that which could easily follow upon any considerable Catholic opposition to the proposal itself. Like other citizens, Catholics can reasonably set themselves against the President's plan for reorganizing the Supreme Court. It is only opposition based upon the hypothetical danger to our religious or educational welfare at some indefinite time in the future that is definitely dangerous. The danger will become acute when a considerable number of our non-Catholic fellow citizens gives expression to some such criticism as the following: "You Catholics have no genuine interest in the welfare of our country. You have no proper sense of proportion. Because of a future, remote, hypothetical and improbable danger to which the President's Court reorganization proposal has no significant relation, you disregard entirely the present, actual, grave and public necessity of the legislation which Mr. Roosevelt's proposal would make possible."

Without unduly straining our imaginations, we can picture the following protest from Catholic representatives of labor: "You profess to be greatly afraid of a future, remote, hypothetical and improbable menace to our common Catholic interests; but you are indifferent to the present grievances and suffering of millions of American workers, Catholic and non-Catholic. The President's Court reorganization proposal must become law if Congress is to have the power to fix minimum wages and maximum hours. Until these measures are adopted millions of our people will

be unable to obtain living wages, and other millions will remain unemployed. We, too, think that you have no proper sense of proportion."

I repeat that I am not here thinking of any opposition to the Court reorganization proposal which is based upon any other reason than its assumed effect as a precedent for interference with the religious or educational rights of minorities. As I have tried to show in the foregoing paragraphs, that argument and that fear are based upon insufficient consideration and insufficient analysis.

II. AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

By WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS

IF IT does nothing else, current public discussion of the President's proposal to "reform the judiciary" shows up the extraordinary length we have come away from understanding of our being as Americans. Clarification is not helped even by the facilities of the radio. The alleged radio debates are not debates. Each man prepares his opinion, apparently, without reference to any point raised or assertion made by his opponent, and reads it—often rather badly. It remains a personal opinion, a statement for one side or the other, a personal preference. Nowhere does this interchange of radio talks show the slightest evidence of understanding that we have reached a new crisis in our American development.

We speak of our "dual form of government." Who analyzes it? We speak of the Constitution as a "compromise" document. Who shows what the compromise is, or why the compromise does and must leave a "no man's land" in which the state government may not act because its power is inhibited, and the federal government cannot act, because the states which created it before their own full sovereign power was inhibited, did not give it the power to act. Senator Borah has come nearer to touching the real issue than anybody in public life, but he has not yet gone to the root of it.

Why should not every graduate of any American college know that the compromise which makes our dual form is a compromise between two respectable but incompatible ideas about our best development. One was that of a union of sovereign states, self-governing, mutually independent, freely associated and represented, in union, in common interest, by a limited federal government. The other was that of a unit (not a union)—a national republic, with a strong central government. Both those ideas were so strongly held among us that they had to be compromised in the Constitution in order to get under way.

The first idea lives today only in the British Commonwealth of Nations, grown from American roots. The roots themselves were cut in the Civil War. Their memory has been lost in the process of our continental expansion and in the dislocation caused by mass immigration accompanying that process. The only place where the memory of those roots persists is in the Constitution. The Constitution, in the ideas of those who made it and consented to its making, is the supreme law of the land. In those same ideas, judges are to state what is law and what (perhaps through omission of some necessary step in its making) is not law.

Even if our whole American population should forget what it was that we tried to embody in the Constitution, the Supreme Court is required to remember and to act accordingly.

The evolution of our governmental forms has always been accompanied by disagreement, varying degrees of violence in dispute, and once by a war. That is not the point. The point is that an attempt to compromise two such strongly opposed ideas of government could only remain a compromise as long as those two ideas remained clear in people's minds, with decided preferences in both directions, accompanied by mutual respect and willingness to abide by the decision of our freely constituted umpire. From the moment public preference leans preponderantly toward one or the other of the ideas compromised, the situation is altered. There might seem to be a definite preference for the national republic idea in the American population as at present constituted. If today legislation is needed and wanted which is not obtainable under the dual form, the reasonable thing for reasonable men to do would be to discuss the law itself and not the men who execute it or who interpret it and are sworn to do so to the best of their ability. Discussion is not intelligent which does not clarify that issue. It is not

necessary to suppose usurpation of power either by the judiciary or by the President.

It is a true message on the state of the Union which is now in order, an examination of the adequacy of our form of government, with due consideration of the fact that none of the parts of federal government can change the Constitution: not the Congress, nor the executive, nor the judiciary branch, nor all three together. That power remains in the people of the states. If "inalienable rights" are still existent in the mentality of

the American people, due consideration should also be given to the question whether the right of the people to decide this constitutional issue can be "alienated" by them to another through the "mandate" of an overwhelming reelection to the presidential office. There are still many who believe in certain inalienable rights. Among these are all Catholics who agree with the derivation of those principles. Another most interesting result of current discussion will be to see how many these are, among Americans.

COMMUNISM: FASCISM

By LUIGI STURZO

THE POPULAR FRONT and the strikes and occupations of factories in France, the Civil War in Spain, the Germano-Japanese treaty, Hitler's proclamation of a crusade against Russia, the "Rome-Berlin axis" acclaimed by Mussolini, and the open military intervention of both in Spain, are so many motives why Europe should appear placed in the dilemma, Communism or Fascism.

At the same time the Pope and bishops have redoubled their warnings to Catholics against the Communist peril. Neither the Pope nor the bishops have put forward this dilemma, Communism or Fascism. On the contrary. Pius XI has on several occasions spoken and written against the Fascist theories of the State as end, the citizen as means. Clear allusions to the position of Catholics in Germany were to be found in his Christmas Eve broadcast. The remedies he has proposed for averting Communism have been of a religious, moral and social order, never political. The bishops of Belgium and of France have clearly repudiated Fascism as a remedy for Communism, and recently the Archbishop of Westminster, the Most Reverend Arthur Hinsley, speaking to leading London Catholics at a banquet for the discussion of a program of Catholic Action, warned them that they must not believe that all that is not Communism is Fascism, and must pin their faith on Catholic activity to save society.

In spite of this, on the one hand, on the Left, Socialists, anti-clericals and Communists accuse the Church, the bishops and Catholics generally of being the allies of Fascism, and conducting their anti-Communist campaign to this end; while among nationalists and Fascists on the Right no mention is made of those sayings of the Pope and bishops that might seem a criticism of Fascism, so that they may be passed off as its allies.

Thus, through various causes, two points of orientation are being created, toward which, consciously or unconsciously, the masses, youth, the

élites are moving, as toward two battle-flags, or two alluring myths, Communism and Fascism.

How many people today believe that the war in Spain is a battle between Communism and Fascism? If we analyze the position, we find that on the side of the generals are, first of all, the soldiers of the regular army and the navy—at one time in majority republicans, some of them anti-clericals, while nearly all the rebel leaders, Franco excepted, are Freemasons—then, the soldiers of the *Tercio*, colonial troops and foreign legionnaires, neither Fascist nor anti-Fascist, but professional soldiers and mercenaries. We find with them many Catholics, the Carlists of Navarre, and the men of Gil Robles's *Accion Popular*, all of whom say they are not Fascists, the monarchists, and finally, the *Falangistas*, the true Fascists.

On the side of the legal government there are the liberal and democratic Republicans, the Socialists, the Syndicalists, the Anarchists, the Communists, the Catholics of the *Cruz y Raya* group, the Basque Catholics. The vast majority are not Communists in any sense.

In this horrible fratricidal war, the Communist color comes from Stalin, who is on the side of the government, the Fascist color from Hitler and Mussolini, who are for Franco and are sending armies to Spain, classed as "volunteers."

We are thus brought back to the central point of the European situation, in which today Communism and Fascism resolve themselves into Russia on the one hand, Germany and Italy on the other.

After the Nuremberg speech, when Hitler launched his anti-Communist crusade, Mr. Anthony Eden replied by repudiating the idea that Europe must be divided between two conflicting ideologies, and reaffirming the office of the democracies in present-day civilization. This attitude on the part of Great Britain is the same as that which she adopted a century ago, when Castlereagh refused his signature to the appeal of the Holy Alliance, saying that it was the business of

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States to carry out definite obligations, not to proclaim general principles, and when a few years later Canning refused to intervene in Spain to suppress the liberal revolution for the Constitution of 1812.

Today the same positions are repeated, with a few variations. In place of an anti-liberal crusade led by Vienna, we have an anti-Communist crusade led by Berlin. Then Vienna feared, what actually came to pass, the revolt of the subject nationalities and the loss of the Italian provinces. Today Berlin seeks to isolate France, to assume a hegemonic position in Europe. Then it was France who played second, intervening with her armies in Spain on behalf of the absolute monarch. Today it is Italy who is sending her "volunteers" into Spain, on behalf of Franco and the other generals. The anti-liberalism of those days had the same hegemonic and utilitarian motives behind it as the anti-Communism of today.

To justify the charge of insincerity brought against Hitler, it will be enough to quote a few unquestioned facts. Hitler on May 3, 1933 (just three months after his nomination as Chancellor), renewed the Russo-German Treaty of April, 1926, which had expired in 1931 and which neither Bruening nor Schleicher nor even Von Papen had wished to extend. On March 27, 1934, Hitler signed with Russia a financial and economic protocol, which was praised by the whole of the German press. Again, in April, 1935, Hitler entered into further agreements with Russia. It was only after France, Rumania and Czechoslovakia had signed their defensive alliance with Moscow that Hitler became aware of the Russian Communist peril, and, after signing a treaty with Japan and consolidating friendship with Italy, proclaimed his crusade.

It may be objected that Hitler has constantly opposed the Communists of Germany, sending them to concentration camps or prisons, or scattering them by dictatorial and police methods. But he had been careful not to carry the struggle into the field of international relations, indeed, he seemed on the way to ever better understanding with Russia. Mussolini had done the same, from the first days of Fascism; he was the first to recognize the Soviet government and to establish diplomatic and economic relations with it. (There were grand receptions at Rome and Odessa, and mutual toasts to the governments of Rome and Moscow.) It was Russia who urged the raising of the sanctions imposed on Italy during the Ethiopian war. Now there has been a change. Hitler in his speech of January 30 demands the exclusion of Russia from any European peace-pact, a struggle against her, or a sanitary cordon to prevent the spread of Communist infection.

To exclude one people, even a less numerous people than the Russians, from the rhythm of the

political and economic life of States would be a mutilation. The mistake of the Treaty of Versailles was the attempt to reduce Germany to a condition of almost complete economic serfdom and hence to a semi-permanent political subjection. The Treaty of Versailles thus acted as a politico-economic cordon drawn round Germany. Reaction came about and ended with the collapse of the treaty and a Europe thrown into disorder and mutual suspicion.

Certainly, every country must defend itself against the Communist propaganda fed and directed from Moscow, adopting those measures that best correspond to the character and need of each separate State. But this does not mean that it would be either profitable or possible to exclude 200,000,000 people from the normal rhythm of collective life, creating against them a psychology of permanent conflict.

It was thus natural that both Great Britain and France should refuse such a platform for a political struggle, which would be the prelude to a war of ideologies, like the Wars of Religion between Protestant and Catholic countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hitler's anti-Communist platform has no ethical foundation, and is therefore a political danger.

To oppose Communism to Fascism, the one as an evil, the other as the remedy (or vice versa, according to the point of view), the two would have to be antithetical, and the one capable of repairing the evils of the other.

And here is the crucial point.

Considered as concrete political systems, as they are presented to experience and imagination, in Russia on the one hand, Germany and Italy on the other, both are dictatorships, both are maintained by powerful armies, able and dominant police-systems, organized and perfected espionage, extra-legal tribunals, concentration camps, the abolition of all civil and political liberties, of all parties save one which is recognized and incorporated in the State, the monopoly of the press and the wireless, of the schools and the training of youth, the militarization of the whole people.

What then is the difference between Russian Communism, Italian Fascism and German Nazism?

A first difference lies in the fact that in Germany and Italy the various social classes still co-exist, with the principle of private property, while in Russia private property has been abolished, the proprietary classes scattered and their members have either fled abroad or merged with the workers. What is left of private property in Italy and Germany besides the name is hard to say. Taxation makes inroads upon capital and dries up the sources for the upkeep and increase of property; the laws of expropriation and the financial and

monetary system make the values of holdings precarious and small; the State monopoly of foreign exchange hampers trade; the corporations are political organs in the hands of the State, which introduces an arbitrary factor into economic life; the enormous effort that goes into making armaments disorganizes both economy and finance.

I do not know if the following anecdote was born in Italy or Germany; it circulates in both Italy and Germany, passed from mouth to mouth, but only between people who know each other well, and in great secrecy.

"Daddy," asks a small boy, "what is the difference between Socialism, Communism and Fascism?"

"It's like this, son, we have four cows in our cow-house. Socialism will take two away from us, for the community."

"Then we have two left."

"Communism takes all four, and pays you a wage for the work you do."

"Where do the cows go?"

"They go to make up a bigger herd. Well, Fascism leaves you all your four cows, but it does all the milking."

In spite of this, landowners and industrialists prefer the Fascist régime (though they do not like it), for fear of something worse, for in the meantime they keep their social rank, they hope (each one for himself) that they will be able to obtain favors, legal or otherwise, from the Fascist authorities, and they think to compensate themselves by paying low wages and by tariff protection.

The workers for their part, faced with the unemployment and wretchedness that exist in Germany and Italy, where State aid for unemployment is limited to a few months (in Italy to ninety days), do not want to run the risk of losing what little bread they can earn (often they work only three or four days a week), and prefer to be silent and to applaud.

Another difference between Russian Communism, German Nazism and Italian Fascism is the treatment of religion. Russian Communism declares itself materialistic and atheist. It denies God and deifies the class; it persecutes religion and puts material progress in its place. German Nazism, for its part, does not deny God, but wants a religion for its own purposes, to deify the race. All that conflicts with the race principle is to be attacked, whether the Bible, the Catholic Church, the Protestant churches, or Judaism. Finally, Italian Fascism has sought a compromise with Catholicism, in spite of its tendency to deify the State and make it the end of the citizens. Against this theory Pius XI has twice protested in his consistorial addresses, and once solemnly in his encyclical, "Non abbiamo bisogno," of June 29, 1931, when a conflict had

broken out with Fascism over Catholic Action among the young. The conflict was settled, but the papal condemnation remains. At the moment relations between Fascism and the Vatican are good, partly because the Vatican has sought to avoid further motives of dispute, in view of the very grave ones it has with Hitler's Germany, but given the Fascist spirit of domination, pride and violence, it should be no surprise if the Church were to be subjected to persecution or humiliation.

Fascism and Communism are neither antithetical, nor is one the remedy for the other. To change a dictatorship of one class for a dictatorship of another would mean simply passing from one tyranny to another. This would resolve none of the social, economic, political and moral problems of the present crisis.

The real fact is that Fascism paves the way for Communism or for something of the kind, and that Communism paves the way for Fascism or for another régime of the same type. Who can maintain that Stalin's present régime in Russia is Communist? Today in Russia there is a reappearance of small holdings, family farms, retail buying and selling of goods, and savings. From the religious standpoint, a certain freedom of worship is emerging, and the few churches that have not been destroyed have been reopened and are crowded. In the international field, Russia conforms to the bourgeois order, is represented at Geneva in the League of Nations, at London on the Non-Intervention Committee, at Montreux at the Dardanelles Conference. From the military point of view, she is now better armed than in the days of the czar, and alarms Berlin. What does Russia lack in order to become a Fascist country? The Moscow trials excel or equal those of Leipzig or Rome; the Nazi purge of June 30, 1934, the deaths of Matteotti, Pilati, Don Minzoni and the seventeen workmen murdered in Turin by Fascist orders have their counterparts, on a wider scale too, in Russia. Russia's anti-Trotskyism corresponds to Germany's anti-Semitism.

What does more than anything to put Germany, Italy and Russia on the same plane, so that they disturb the whole world, is their common and relentless war against western democracies, against the system of traditional rights, against respect of human personality, things rooted in our Christian civilization. These régimes sooner or later are bound by their very nature to result in war. Hence their need, before the fatal hour strikes, to disintegrate the system underlying the power of their eventual adversaries, and to create for themselves favorable currents of opinion in the very countries on which they will make war, Russia among the workers, Germany and Italy among the middle classes. Such is the dilemma, Fascism or Communism.

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RELIGION AND SCIENCE¹

By WILLIAM M. AGAR

No Fundamental Conflict

Evidently the notion that a fundamental antagonism exists between religion and science has no basis in fact. The conflicts have been unnecessary and we must look a little deeper into the causes of the misunderstandings in order to avoid them, if possible, in the future.

The philosopher Whitehead calls attention to the fact that both sides were partially correct in the Galileo case since we know that the sun moves as well as the earth. The statements of what each side considered as facts were made in ignorance of the qualifications required. It did not then appear that both could be true, but such an apparent logical contradiction should be taken to indicate the necessity of some readjustment of fundamental notions. He regards a clash of doctrines as an opportunity, not a disaster.

This is undoubtedly a fruitful concept to bear in mind when future misunderstandings arise, since it advocates a policy of careful consideration of all the evidence before anathemas are hurled about, but it misses the point of the past conflicts and unduly emphasizes the developmental phase of religion.

Galileo was not condemned because the theory that he was advocating subverted the astronomy of the day, or because the evidence for the revolution of the planets was not complete, which it was not; but because the particular scientific notion he was attacking had been allowed to become a part of the Christian viewpoint and Christianity itself seemed to be attacked. This brings into sharp relief the fact that while there are basic truths in Christianity which do not change in time, the Christian must not let these be overgrown by notions which are bound to change as knowledge progresses.

Who Is at Fault?

Theologians have caused the misunderstandings by attacking science on scriptural grounds and directing their attacks moreover at facts that could be proved by science. It is unfortunately true that Catholics have been as much at fault in this as the other Christian bodies, in spite of the reiterated warnings of their Church. The loss of one battle after another, even though fought over ground that religion had no right to occupy, has not been edifying, and has had much to do with weakening the hold of Christianity over the mind of modern man.

The battles for Christianity should have been fought on another plane. Here there would have been no retreat and victory would have prevented much scepticism and despair. For scientists caused the troubles as well as theologians by their unwarranted excursions into ethics, philosophy and theology in which they tried to make material knowledge the basis for the denial of God, free will, and the whole realm of values, and explained man as a machine and consciousness in terms of matter and energy. This is basically nothing but the age-old difference between naturalism and supernaturalism cropping out under new guise, but it cannot be fought by denying the true facts upon which the false thinking is based.

It is an historical truth that the late nineteenth-century science thought it knew nearly everything that there was to know and was quite certain that its methodology was capable of explaining the entire universe. It believed, in fact, that it had just about finished explaining it, and that there was no way to reach out of the completely materialistic universe of matter and force and make room for the supernatural. Since the religion of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century scientists was Christianity, this about-face seems surprising. But it took place slowly and as a part of a world movement which caused the gradual withdrawal of religion into the inner life of the individual followed by the general secularization of western culture and the nearly total disregard of Christianity as a vital force. Science was not primarily responsible for this but scientists played their part in it—in no way more obviously than in the childish certainty that their knowledge was complete.

It was not unusual to hear it said that all the laws governing the universe were known. A speaker before the British Association pitied the scientists of the future because there were no new discoveries to make, but within three years Roentgen had developed the X-rays and Becquerel discovered radioactivity followed by the isolation of radium by the Curies. The consequences of these discoveries are well known. Physics today differs more from the physics of 1895 than that did from the physics of Galileo's day, for the difference is one of kind, not merely of degree.

Increasing knowledge of how things are made and how forces act upon them seems to have a peculiar effect upon man's thinking faculty. Instead of increasing his respect for the power capable of initiating this complex universe, partial knowledge makes him feel that it is perfectly natural after all and that it needs no maker.

¹ This is the fourth and last instalment of an article begun in the issue of March 19.

Further discoveries have revealed the stupidity of this attitude and science today is humble—the beginning of all knowledge. But the other attitude caused much of the dissension we have noted and we must examine its development briefly.

After Newton science began to take on a practical aspect and after La Place it reached the point where its exactness could be of real value to man and he began to look upon it as the essence of truth.

The concept of space existing of itself a priori to experience or matter, and of time flowing on in an unbroken succession of instants, was firmly established. Matter and physical phenomena had merely taken up their abode in space as in an empty apartment house and they obeyed rigid, causal laws, most of which, it was believed, had been discovered by man. La Place stated that it was possible (though actually impracticable) for a mind—his "World Spirit"—knowing the laws and the position of every atom of matter in existence at any given instant of time, to fix the exact state of everything at any time in the past or future. Thus the adequate picture of nature was the machine—a mechanism moving according to fixed and calculable laws. To be sure, matter was created and the laws were set by God, and this dualistic concept is not necessarily inconsistent with Christianity. Nevertheless, it is a long step on the way to pure materialism, for no one can have a real interest in a God Who is no more than the constructor of the universe, the "winder of the cosmic clock," which He then allows to run down mechanically and every move of which is predetermined. God became more and more indistinct, a necessary force, perhaps nothing but energy, impersonal, vague. This view of God was deism and the philosophy, mechanism.

The next step was taken in the middle of the nineteenth century when evolution seemed to reduce life to the same plane as inert matter. Just as Newton unified the physical universe by means of one law, so Darwin unified the scattered phenomena of the biological sciences under a single concept. Living matter, made of the same substance as the non-living, was apparently ruled by the same laws, and life, it was expected, would soon be explicable in terms of matter and energy.

Once life is deemed mechanistic free will disappears, since man himself falls under the compulsion of the past and his every act can be foretold through all time by a "World Spirit" Who knows the rules. If this be true, man has not made history but history has made man. There is nothing left of the soul, responsibility, or values of any kind: "should" or "must" cease to be intelligible terms and the vague God of deism dissolves in the distant mist. Atheism creeps in to take its place and the empiricist who reduces mind to matter has won the day.

On the surface all was serene. Science continued its conquest of nature. Mathematics and physics combined in engineering, astronomy and chemistry were remaking life; geology and biology were answering the fundamental questions; evolution pointed the way to a happier future; medicine and surgery were relieving men of pain; the scientific method was the only method capable of arriving at the truth; life was organized so men thought—though it was really only mechanized. The laws worked, there was no need of God!

The real thinkers were not satisfied with this solution. Inventors might continue to improve man's material lot but atheism and mechanism introduce a fundamental fallacy—the denial of the fact that a machine requires a maker. To say that it happened by chance or developed out of itself denies the principle of sufficient cause or, ultimately, the theory of contradiction, without which logic is useless. A machine is an organized system adapted to certain ends. If the universe is a machine, it is a means to an end and any machine theory that denies purposiveness reduces itself to declaring that the universe is a means but a means to no end. The machine theory must be based on dualism if it is to survive.

The laws of nature must be causal or else statistical. If they are causal, that is, if they carry the compulsion of a legislative act, they require a lawmaker. Deistic science recognized the maker. Atheistic science found itself with laws that had no author. They were recognized properly enough as merely recording the invariable results that follow certain acts, but they were not necessary. They were contingent, that is, they could have been otherwise. Certain advances in thermodynamics resulted in the recognition that all of the so-called "laws" were nothing but statistical rules setting forth the most likely result from an action or a series of actions. That is the status of physical "law" today, and since statistical laws apply only to large numbers they are not applicable to individual physical particles and do not cover the whole field of science.

These fallacies, coupled with the recognition of the whole realm of values, man's interest in truth, and consciousness as fundamental data of experience, all served to free science from the dreary, circumscribed cosmos of materialism. The gradual disappearance of the old concept of substance, the breakdown of the classical notion of time and space under the impact of relativity, and the shift of emphasis in the biological sciences to the study of the organism as a whole in relation to its environment, are milestones in the progress toward a true appreciation of the rôle that science must fill.

Science is not bound to naturalism. The non-philosophically minded may retain that notion because they do not bother to follow what they

profess to its ultimate implications. They do not live as though they believed it or they would cease their striving, since naturalism is not only opposed to religion, but by disregarding logic and blinding itself to its own foundation on unreasoned principles, it involves the negation of reason and the suicide of thought.

Misuse of a word has often helped to propagate an error. The assumption of the term rationalism for the system based on materialism served to qualify the old learning, in the popular mind at least, as irrational. But scholasticism was rationalism carried ultimately to the nth degree, while science and the revived philosophy of the seventeenth century were admitted by their own proponents to be irrational. They tried to get away from reasoned flights of fancy and to seek knowledge by organizing the facts of ordinary experience and building upon them.

While the scholastics sought to prove the existence of God by reason before they discussed His attributes, the new science based itself on an instinctive faith that there is an order in nature which can be traced through all occurrences. It assumed matter as the ultimate reality and its extension in time and space. It assumed that there were laws which controlled the activities of this matter, and refused to bother about ultimate meanings and explanations.

That this was a fruitful methodology no one will deny even though most of the fundamental assumptions are now either contradicted or open to serious question. It focused attention on immediate, solvable problems and resulted in our present-day control over so many natural forces. But it has suffered from this oversimplification of method since, as pointed out before, it deliberately gave itself a one-sided outlook and prearranged that its future judgments should be biased.

While the physical sciences held the field a materialistic interpretation could pass nearly unnoticed, but when the study of life on wholly mechanistic principles was instituted the full effect of this bias became apparent. The attempts to study man and the higher forms of life as machines have helped to dispel the illusion of omnipotence of the scientific method, and the scientists who see this clearly lose none of their value as scientists but they avoid the foolish mistakes of so many of their forebears.

Man is a part of the physical universe but he is also something else. As Eddington points out, man is the only creature who asks the questions: What am I? Where am I going? He is a group of carbon atoms truly enough, but a group of atoms to which truth matters. The Christian knows on other grounds that God has revealed to man his destiny and that man is free to choose. The empiricist may refuse to accept the evidence satisfactory to the Christians but he does not

thereby limit his knowledge to sense impressions. As mentioned before, he merely exercises the power of choice, which he denies exists, and decides which, out of a multitude of data, he will accept and which refuse.

The thoughts of the leaders of the past have reached the masses today. There are many, bred in the notion that materialism is an easy and complete answer to the problem of the universe, who, through ignorance of what it means, scoff at the idea of God. They are the intellectual offspring of the nineteenth-century materialists and, unless some positive force intervenes, they will lead western civilization to its ultimate destruction by means of the logical application of the only conclusions possible from the materialistic premise. These are: First, the universe is irrational, nothing fundamental can be known or matters, existence is therefore futile and meaningless; which leads to madness and despair. Second, there is no truth, no justice, save what man makes for himself at certain times and in certain places; might makes right and to the strongest belong the spoils, which is the basis of the "superman Kultur" and the grasping, totalitarian state.

Perhaps the most insidious error of all is that which results from the mating of evolution with human history. Out of this union was born the notion that man will improve necessarily and that war, tyranny, cruelty, and all the evils that spring from man's inhumanity to man will disappear in time because man's goodness and intelligence will have evolved beyond them. The Christian view is expressed in Maritain's words: "Man, because he is perfectible, is corruptible also." There is no road to progress that does not involve individual and social effort whose momentary relaxation leads to decline. The terrible danger inherent in the power to choose is the possibility of choosing wrong. The vision of a better future produced solely by time's inexorable march is worse than futile, it is positively vicious, because based on ignorance of man and of his relation to God.

Catholic rationalism has a place for all elements of reality. It emphasizes the importance of reason and recognizes all the categories of knowledge. It is the positive force that can overcome these tendencies and the Church finds itself now, as in the beginning, the bulwark of sanity against the disintegrating effects of materialism.

Let us not repeat the mistakes of the past. The cause of Christianity is not advanced by ignorance and attacks on growing knowledge. Long ago Erasmus said that by identifying the new learning with heresy you make orthodoxy synonymous with ignorance. The things that should have been attacked and must always be attacked are the false conclusions. The honest findings of natural science are as true in its field as is Revelation in

its own. History proves that this distinction is not always easy to make at the time. Such things become sharper in retrospect, but if we keep the problem and its attendant difficulties clearly in mind we have a chance of avoiding these same errors in the future.

Scientists have been driven from the Church or prevented from seeking truth in Christianity by the stupid denial of things that they know to be true by Christian clergy and laity. Christians have been driven to disregard science or oppose it actively because of scientists' statements in a field about which they knew nothing or in which their authority was merely as that of any other layman, and not to be compared to that of the theologian or philosopher.

We must also beware of weaving Christian principles about the warp and woof of modern science, for that will change again and if Christianity seems once more to depend upon outmoded principles the old recriminations cannot but be renewed. We must not expect science to furnish us with our ideas of God except in so far as it points the need of a Creator. It can only lead to the threshold of the City of God. The rest is outside of its field.

Religion and science, supernatural knowledge and natural knowledge, necessarily supplement each other, and help each other. When human passion, prejudice, and fear of new ideas are removed, conflicts will prove to be misunderstandings and their solution will always increase the sum-total of human knowledge.

Whippoorwill Time

There's nothing like the time the whippoorwills
Are tuning up for songs they never sing
For a man to reckon up the things
He's missed in life and so gone on in hopes.

A singing top he wanted as a boy,
A woman that he wanted as a man,
The son who might have been the son
He dreamed once would come to him down the hills
With his face full of the evening sun
And shoulders wide against the wall of night.
The high tower which the night was, years ago,
When he had boy's eyes in his head, the wide
Mystery a common field he knew
Could become, and flowers he must have dreamed,
They stood so like a row of candles shining
Across a hill, and one last maple tree,
Alone, and lit with fire from inside.

They meant such mighty things, and they were lost
As easily as thistledown in wind,
Or rainbows after storms. So he had come
Across the years with splendor on his face.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN.

CAN THE DEAF HEAR?

By GEORGE N. SHUSTER

THAT deafness is an affliction everybody knows. But surprisingly little attention has been paid to curing it (or preventing it, which is much the same thing). At a recent meeting of the American Academy of Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology, it was agreed that this neglect is attributable to "a widely prevalent but fallacious belief that once hearing is impaired treatment is of little or no avail."

Heroic efforts are made to teach deaf-mute children. Such work as is done at St. Joseph's Institute for Deaf Mutes, in New York City, is very representative of what Sisters, for example, are doing in this important educational field. But the medical outlook as such is quite bad, and the average deaf person must resign himself to doing without the pleasures that come from hearing.

Oddly enough, physicians have long known that most cases of deafness have, excepting when congenital, a number of well-known causes. In children it is frequently brought on by scarlet fever, measles and similar maladies. Later on it may be caused by such things as diseased tonsils, adenoid infection, excessive use of alcohol and sinus trouble. Even the common cold is held responsible for much deafness. It follows that if such diseases can be prevented, or at least very carefully treated, the number of injuries to the ear can be reduced. Doubtless also the physician who could solve the problem of infections that enter into the picture would also be in a position to render aid.

These reflections become especially poignant when one thinks of children. The youngster who loses the ability to hear may be a brave and care-free child fully capable of making the best of his lot; but the fact remains that a measure of segregation from others becomes necessary. Special training is required, and this is costly. Economic handicaps must be reckoned with. But the worst thing of all is isolation. Sometimes this can help to develop special artistic and spiritual gifts, but as a general rule life is made poorer and more burdensome. Parents realize all this and are anxious to do everything in their power. Unfortunately their best efforts frequently bear no fruit, and they are left with the sole comfort of thinking that after all it might have been worse.

It so happens that the problem of deafness has interested me deeply, because a very dear friend has gradually succumbed to the malady. This friend is of a remarkably cheerful and even heroic disposition, but the experience of being slowly excluded from all normal commerce with friends or with the beloved art of music has nevertheless been a harrowing one. I was discussing this case with a doctor friend—Dr. Otto Meyer, of New York—when he told me of a professional experience which seemed so very interesting that I begged him to write it out for me. This he has done, and I am privileged to quote what follows. The reader may like to know that Dr. Meyer is a famous authority on rheumatic diseases who was trained in Germany and now resides in New York. Among his famous

patients is Mr. James Braddock, who sought and got relief from arthritis.

"Influenced by certain writings of Bottenberg and Aschner, I became interested in leech therapy and have had some highly gratifying results," writes Dr. Meyer. "My practise is limited to diseases of the veins, and I was able to make successful use of leeches especially in cases of purulent phlebitis in the lower limbs. For this disease cannot be treated with any other method.

"Proceeding from this experience with purulent phlebitic conditions, I have used leech therapy in a case of latent inflammation of the jugular veins. The patient suffered from total deafness following an attack of influenza.

"She was a woman of seventy-eight, afflicted with arteriosclerosis. She had suffered from an acute attack of influenza which had lasted about two weeks. Deafness set in suddenly, as soon as the acute symptoms disappeared. Several specialists treated the deafness without success. One day I happened to be making a social call at this patient's country home and was asked by her son to examine his mother. I said that I had practically no experience with diseases of the ear, but consented.

"Examination of the ear indicated that the organ itself was seemingly normal, though the patient had been stone deaf for four weeks. But a markedly sensitive spot—sensitive under pressure—was detectable in the region of the jugular veins indicating an inflammation of those veins. Inflammation of such a character is always due to an infection and has been described as such in acute cases by Professor Dietrich, pathologist of the University of Tuebingen. Chronic inflammation of the jugular veins, however, has been completely neglected in medical literature. But blood cultures taken from the blood obtained by the leech treatment showed bacteria like streptococcus hemolyticus and streptococcus viridans; a certain proof that the inflammatory process was due to an infection.

"Accordingly I recommended that three leeches be applied on each side directly above the jugular veins, and that the patient be allowed to bleed as much as possible after the leeches had fallen off. Within twenty-four hours the deafness had entirely disappeared; and today—a year after the treatment—this patient is fully normal of hearing.

"This striking instance can undoubtedly be accounted for by assuming that a congestion of the middle ear was removed. This congestion was due to an obstruction in the jugular vein caused by a swelling of the inner wall of the vein—very much as rust on the inside of a drain pipe will impede the flow. In this connection it is interesting to note that according to figures supplied at the September, 1936, Congress of American Otolologists by Dr. Burt R. Shurly, of Detroit, about a third of all cases of deafness are caused by infectious diseases.

"I believe that this case justifies the belief that the method described above should be investigated carefully, since other methods of therapy are powerless. It shows that under certain conditions the use of leech therapy can effect remarkable cures."

Of course, I am not a physician. But I can vouch for the truth of Dr. Meyer's assertions and also for the fact that the patient, a distinguished and well-known woman, was really cured in the manner described, and that the deafness from which she suffered has not returned. Dr. Meyer himself is too busy to develop this particular field. I have thought that maybe some readers of this paper—readers who are in charge of work for deaf children, or who are professionally interested—might wish to learn about this new method.

The most remarkable thing about leech therapy is that, when administered by any physician, it is absolutely safe and almost painless. No bad effects can follow. Naturally it must not be expected that a long-established ear disease is subject to cure. But the probability exists that when children are stricken following such maladies as scarlet fever, they can be spared a life-time of privation in many instances if the method resorted to by Dr. Meyer is followed. This chance seems to me so good that I have ventured to set down these lines on a subject outside my competence. Anyone interested may write; but should bear in mind that Dr. Meyer is seeking neither patients, nor fees, nor glory. He is merely willing to cooperate with physicians and with those to whom his experience suggests possibilities in the treatment of a much-dreaded malady.

Should the treatment prove generally successful, it would, of course, lighten immensely the burden now carried by charities organizations.

Wheels in Sunlight

Things seen in light do so reveal
Their innocent integrity,
Nothing more fragile than a wheel
In early sun will ever be
And eyes bewitched must quickly pore
On beauty never seen before.
An aged wheel behind a horse
In April when the light is pale
Pursuing, exquisite and frail,
Its reticent but rugged course,
The rim worn down to quivering steel
Which for a trillion times has spun
And called it one,
Ever more sensitized to feel
The earth beneath its turning tread,
Intrepid earth, itself a wheel,
Which trusts to roads of air instead.
Wheel upon wheel in sheerest light,
So for an instant dazzled sight
Beholds a universe in flight
Quiet, absorbed, and heavenly bright.

The quickening spokes roll radiant past
And I have seen a wheel at last,
Infinity in miniature,
A creature vitalized and pure
Which drinks revolving life divine
From earth, the bread, and light, the wine.

LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL.

Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—Monsignor Michael J. Ready, General Secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, appeared before the House of Representatives Education Committee and urged that the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill to appropriate funds for the nation's schools be revised to include all schools which fulfil the requirements of public education. Bishop John B. Peterson of Manchester, N. H., told the thirty-fourth annual meeting of the National Catholic Educational Association at Louisville, Ky., that he saw in the bill as it stood "no constructive program of school improvement." * * * Sixteen members of the Canadian House of Commons have just concluded a special retreat at the Closed Retreats House of the Oblate Fathers at Hull, Quebec. This is an annual custom. * * * The Student Peace Federation of the Catholic Association for International Peace adopted a tentative constitution, March 31. * * * At the Louisville Catholic Education meeting Bishop Maurice J. McAuliffe of Hartford, Conn., spoke of the seminary professor as one whose essential office it is "to form Christ in the minds and hearts of those who are in due time to be other Christs." He spoke of "the deep solicitude of Mother Church in the formation of her priests" and added that "the priesthood is preeminently her glory and the joy of her life." He spoke of the qualities required by a seminary professor as "a transparent page revealing the solicitude, love, devotion, faith and joy which should fill the mind and heart of the teachers of Christ's anointed." * * * Within one year the *Catholic Worker* farm near Easton, Pa., has been extended from thirty to seventy acres and an office, a meeting-room and a small lending-library established in the town itself. * * * An exhibition of liturgical objects in the Central Seminary of Tsinanfu, China, conducted by student guides has led a number of people, including an entire village, to ask for instruction in the Faith. * * * *Catholic Missions* for April contains a remarkable photograph, sent in by the Bishop of Tuticorin, of Annie Pillai, thirteen-year-old daughter of a high-caste family in India, and the twenty-five pupils she is preparing in her home for First Communion, many of them pariahs. * * * "A Guide to Catholic Shanghai" and "Catholic Peking—1937" are two attractive booklets prepared for the thousands of pilgrims to the Manila Eucharistic Congress who passed through these cities.

The Nation.—The House made a move toward taking up the fight over the Court reorganization bill as the Senate Judiciary Committee insisted on continuing preliminary hearings. Supreme Court action on the Wagner Labor Relations Act was keenly anticipated, as a favorable decision would be expected to persuade senators that the President's proposal is not needed, while an adverse one would presumably push along the Court change plans. Senate hearings developed an interesting debate, and over the air Carter Glass delivered a formidable attack which

Senator Robinson firmly rebutted. * * * The AAA has devised a program which would supplement efforts of the FCA toward restoring land to its natural purpose in the effort to prevent "Black Blizzard" in the "dust bowl." The area affected includes ninety counties in Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, Texas and New Mexico. The plan calls for \$1,750,000 a year to be granted to dry-land farmers in proportion as they follow anti-wind erosion practices worked out by the Department of Agriculture. * * * Washington's first active part in the work of the International Labor Organization commenced when 200 delegates from twenty-three nations gathered there for a Technical Tripartite Conference of the textile industry. The three parts represent labor, employers and governments. Reports prove that the 14,000,000 textile workers in the world exist with pay and social conditions clearly lower than that of the general run of industrial workers. The conference is dealing with wages and working conditions and also with political and economic influences, such as tariffs and quotas. The president of the conference, John G. Winant, claimed that the failure of actual effective demand for textiles to keep pace with increases in income and prosperity is "the heart of the textile problem." An international plan to expand world production and sales was sought. * * * A large board of experts submitted to the Senate Commerce Committee 586 pages of recommendations to insure safety at sea for American ships. Eighteen months of research produced ideas about structural strength, stability, fire protection and extinction, engineering, life-saving apparatus, training, load-lines, watertight compartments, construction materials, furniture and engine-room equipment. Laws are expected to be passed enforcing "a method of producing absolutely fireproof ships, and this without adding excessively to the cost or weight involved."

The Wide World.—Efforts to halt participation by foreigners in Spain's Civil War met with some success, the most widely heralded result being France's retention of American volunteers for the Leftist cause. An offensive led by General Mola had for its immediate objective the capture of Durango, gateway to Bilbao. Sufficient progress was made to justify the belief that Basque resistance might crumble under the attack, though optimistic statements came from the defenders. On the other hand, the Madrid armies were apparently making gains on the Cordoba front. According to dispatches the fighting this week was probably the most sanguinary of the whole Civil War. Dissension on Catalonia was temporarily halted when Luis Companys became both President and Premier. Likelihood that further party strife might weaken both sides seemed indisputable. * * * King Leopold III of Belgium induced the French and British governments to release his country from its obligations under the Locarno Pact. The status of 1913 is now re-

stored—that is, Belgium's neutrality is guaranteed, but it itself need only act in self-defense. Fear that Léon Degrelle, Rexist leader, might make political capital out of the country's "international entanglements" was considered the primary reason for the King's action. * * * Colonel François de la Rocque was back again in French news, following indictment on the charge that he had not disbanded his Croix de Feu organizations but had merely given them a new name. He and his aids contended, however, that the Social party was purely political in character. * * * President Benes of Czechoslovakia visited Belgrade in order to discuss the general situation of the Little Entente. Of this Yugoslavia is formally a member, but the extent to which its attitude has been changed by the recent agreement with Mussolini remains to be seen. * * * Some glimpses of a possible Philippine Commonwealth policy were afforded by the rather violent address delivered by President Manuel Quezon at a New York Foreign Policy Association luncheon. He declared that the Filipinos must learn to defend themselves, and named Japan as the possible aggressor; suggested that training boys of ten for future military service was necessary; and held that readiness to campaign was preferable to education. Following recent addresses by Chinese statesmen, the speech indicated the extent to which nationalism has gripped the Orient. * * * Visits to various European capitals by Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg were announced as steps toward cementing the relations between Austria and the neighboring powers.

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Strikes.—After a thirty days' strike a collective bargaining agreement between John L. Lewis and Walter P. Chrysler was signed April 6. Negotiations on wages, hours and working conditions were arranged for and 65,000 men planned to return to work. Labor troubles in Michigan were expected to subside. Unauthorized strikes that brought sit-downs to certain General Motors plants were quickly called off by union officials. A "red purge" of the automobile union was announced, which union officials corrected to "campaign against troublemakers," no matter of what party or philosophy. Industrial relations throughout the country continued most upset. Wilmington almost had a general strike, relief workers were striking in New York, riots occurred in Minnesota, soft coal workers struck for one day. The coal situation was cleared up by a two-year contract, granting the union a \$6 a day minimum wage, but not furnishing demanded guarantees of an annual rate or paid vacation. On the Pacific Coast the inter-union strife between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. promised to be more serious than elsewhere as the A. F. of L. teamsters under the aggressive Dave Beck fought the C.I.O., led by Harry Bridges of the Maritime Federation. The C.I.O. announced recognition by forty-six iron and steel firms, and predicted immediate drives in the textile industry and in the Texas oil fields. In Texas, Governor Allred said he would tolerate no sit-downs, and his resolution was expected soon to be tested. The problem of sit-downs came to the fore in Congress. The

House Rules Committee reported a resolution calling for a general investigation of the problem. In the Senate an amendment to the Guffey bill which would outlaw sit-downs and give a general policy against them was defeated after hot debates. In both Houses regular administration forces tried to keep the issue out but were unable to do so.

An International Conference.—The word has gone round that the United States would favor resumption of certain types of international discussion. Armament, for one thing. That a naval conference is in the offing may be looked upon as a fact, and when it takes place Washington and London will be in closer accord than at any similar meeting of past years. Now there is some likelihood that a wider discussion of military problems as a whole may be inaugurated, with this country very near the head of the table. It might begin, as a matter of fact, with some parley to consider ways and means of effecting a truce in Spain. Speaking on the twentieth anniversary of United States entry into the World War, M. François de Tessen virtually suggested that the time had come to take up anew certain Wilsonian ideals. Speaking of "organization for peace," he declared that France would consider and examine sympathetically "any opposition, any suggestion and any initiative, from wherever it may come." M. De Tessen is an intimate friend of Premier Blum, and the chances are good that the whole French Cabinet weighed the appropriateness of his address. At present the major difficulty seems to be finding a sponsor for a disarmament conference. The League of Nations can hardly act as host, in view of what has happened to Italy in particular. On April 5, it was likewise announced that France and Great Britain had besought Premier Paul Van Zeeland, of Belgium, to sound out opinions as to the practicability of a world economic conference, to resume the work broken off at the London Conference of 1933.

The Nunan-Moffat Bill.—The New York State Catholic Welfare Committee, chairman of which is Bishop Edmund F. Gibbons, of Albany, has endorsed the Nunan-Moffat Child Labor bill as well as the complementary federal Wheeler bill. Under the Nunan-Moffat measure, which is proposed as an addition to the General Business Law of New York, products of factory, mine or quarry employing children under sixteen cannot be offered for sale in the state. In discussing it, the Committee argues: "The Nunan-Moffat bill should be passed: (1) because it protects New York adult labor, and employers against unfair competition from child labor employed in other states; (2) because it will make exploitation of children in other states unprofitable; (3) because it is an immediate rather than an uncertainly prospective step which can be taken to solve the national child labor problem. Pass the Nunan-Moffat bill. Shut off the greatest consumers', trans-shippers' and jobbers' market in the United States to the child labor products of backward states. Let the Empire State be a leader in this movement which should appeal to all humane, socially minded

citizens more interested in actual results for the children, now, than stubborn adherence to controversial methods which have prevailed in the past." The Wheeler bill prohibits the transportation of child labor goods into states which forbid the sale thereof, and requires that goods produced by child labor be marked when sold in interstate commerce. It is believed that the constitutionality of both measures is unquestioned. It is realized that enforcement of the Nunan-Moffat bill would be much simpler and far less costly were the proposed federal legislation passed. Yet even if it were not, the contention is that New York's action would seriously hamper employers of child labor.

Ludendorff.—During the week, Hitler and Ludendorff solemnly announced their reconciliation. In 1923, they had stood together in the famous "putsch" suppressed with bloodshed by the Munich police. Neither was wounded, but whereas the General marched off proudly and scornfully, Hitler retreated to—it is averred—a cellar. Since that fateful hour Ludendorff has been out of politics, and has devoted his time and attention to the Tannenberg Union. This is a racial and religious association noted primarily for its hatred of Christianity, and of Jesuits in particular. Some of the most extraordinary literature in the world has issued from the Tannenberg press, including a recent work attempting to prove that the whole Bible is a "swindle." Yet the major scribe is Ludendorff's second wife, Frau Mathilda, whose books—notably "The Soul of Man"—are curious theosophic parallels to Dr. Rosenberg's "Mythos des XX. Jahrhunderts." She it was who invented the term "black men"—*schwarze Maenner*—as applied to the Jesuits. The Tannenberg Union also publishes a newspaper, and sponsors several varieties of membership. Reasons why the reconciliation took place were eagerly sought. Not a few supposed that the primary object might be to frighten Bavarian Catholics, particularly their Cardinal Archbishop, and display once again the impotence of opposition to the Nazis. More probably, however, the move was a step toward the predicted ascension of Hitler to the Presidency, leaving Goering or somebody else to carry on as Chancellor. Since Hindenburg is no more, the sponsorship of the next grandest old man from the war period may prove to be the support needed. Necessarily, of course, this action is very trying and saddening to members of the Catholic and Protestant Churches.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities.—The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches adopted a proposal, April 2, to establish a commission for the study of Christian unity. The chief function of the committee will be educational. * * * An "Unite the Youth Endeavor" which is reaching out to 5,000 congregations and 350,000 people between the ages of thirteen and thirty is now under way in the Lutheran Synodical Conference. Its motto is "an effort to rally youth for greater service to the congregation and the pastor." Through "internal expansion" it seeks to enroll those that are confirmed each year and to increase the membership of young people's

societies and Bible classes. By "assimilation" it seeks to improve the programs of these young people's societies. "External expansion" will emphasize the importance of uniting all the young people into one association. "Back of this movement is a desire to help preserve our Lutheran heritage against the terrific impact of our modern civilization." * * * During the session of the state legislature which has just closed, religious groups in New Mexico succeeded in securing new liquor regulations requiring all day Sunday closing of establishments and the restriction of sales of alcoholic beverages outdoors to places where regular service is maintained with tables and chairs. A bill to legalize gambling in the state was defeated, but horse racing betting was legalized. * * * A number of Indian Christian leaders have issued a statement warning against stressing the religious aspects of the unrest of the depressed classes and "obscuring its real nature as a social upheaval." "Mass conversions have generally lowered Christian standards so badly as to have left for the Indian Church a legacy of deplorable caste prejudices and jealousies, on account of which its progress, solidarity and its proclaimed witness to the oneness of all humanity in Jesus Christ suffer not a little even to this day."

Interracial Conference.—Under the auspices of Fordham Teachers College, the third annual Interracial Conference was held in New York, April 4. It was attended by 300 delegates from forty-three Catholic colleges and universities and other organizations. After Mass at St. Peter's Church on Barclay Street and breakfast at a nearby restaurant, the sessions began with a discussion of the lynching question. The conference went on record "as endorsing and urging the enactment of a strong, adequate and effective anti-lynching law by the present Congress." It expressed "opposition to any mild and inadequate lynching law such as the bill proposed by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell." Several speakers urged support of the Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-Lynching Bill. Later sessions took up the organization of interracial work on the campus. It was proposed that an interracial club be formed at every college, distinct in itself even if affiliated with some other association. Its form would be left to the individual college. It would engage in research on problems of interracial justice, publish articles in college publications together with reprints of pertinent articles from the secular and religious press, and sponsor lectures and informal discussions on the campus as well as outside the college. In Catholic colleges which accept them colored students would be urged to join the interracial organization. Among auxiliary activities of a general nature that were discussed, cooperatives, social service and parish visitor work received special attention. Finally, the formulation of a general interracial pledge for Catholics was discussed. The pledge adopted by the delegates included the following: "I hereby promise to treat the Negro as a brother in Jesus Christ, not only giving him what is in accord with strict justice but showing him true charity . . . to do all that I am able to convince the white majority of this country of the grave wrong it tolerates in depriving the Negro of opportunities for spiritual and temporal welfare."

What's Wrong with Medicine?—The American Foundation has just published a 1,500-page report entitled "American Medicine—Expert Testimony Out of Court," comprising the opinions of 2,200 physicians, most of them with twenty years or more experience and 38 percent of them general practitioners. It indicates that the profession is suffering from an excess of self-appointed specialists, who are not in fact thorough enough specialists and have not had the general experience necessary. Too many students from medical schools seem to be going directly and without sufficient preparation into some specialty. With many surgeons the impulse to operate seemed too strong. The general practitioner of the future was envisaged as a diagnostician with laboratory and specialist assistants. The contributors to this report held that even the best of today's care is not good enough, because medical practise lags behind the latest findings in medical knowledge, medical education is not what it should be and there is a general failure to understand that prevention not cure is the ultimate aim. The consensus was that it is more important to raise the quality of medical students, medical instruction and medical care than to make mediocre care available to a greater number of people, and it is reported that the profession has set up voluntary certification boards in twelve divisions of medicine. Lesser reasons advanced to substantiate the opinion that, speaking in general terms, "adequate medical care is not available" to the nation as a whole, are that it costs too much; people in agricultural districts live too far apart, and the public has a preference for cults, quacks and patent medicines. As an example of conditions prevalent in Georgia, the Dakotas, Texas, Kentucky and other states the *New York Times* cites New Mexico where one-third of the fatally sick die unattended by a physician and 15,000 die annually of tuberculosis, deprived of free beds. Of the 20,000 suffering from syphilis less than 20 consult a physician. And in some counties less than one-fourth of the mothers have a doctor's care at childbirth and three-fourths of the babies who die have no medical care. The doctors feel that inadequate medical care is a part of the larger problem of the socially and economically underprivileged.

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The CCC.—After a three-day open-house celebration held in 2,002 camps to mark the CCC's fourth birthday, President Roosevelt sent a special message to Congress asking for the establishment of a permanent Corps. There are now 350,000 young men and war veterans enrolled in CCC, but the President thinks the permanent figure should be 300,000 youths, 10,000 Indians, and 5,000 enrollees in territorial and insular possessions. The anniversary report of Robert Fechner, the director, did not enter into the effect of the work on the personnel, which subject he recently covered in a report to the President entitled, "An Investment in Manhood." Information was given, however, on administration, finance and physical effect on the country. Enrollees are selected by the Labor Department and by the Veterans Administration. The War Department feeds and clothes the men and con-

ducts the camps. Work is planned and supervised by the Interior and Agricultural Departments. During the four years about \$700,000,000 has been spent on food, clothing and equipment. The men have sent home to dependent families (families on whom they were previously dependent) over \$360,000,000. In the list of accomplishments are the planting of more than 1,000,000,000 trees, mostly on waste land, the improvement of timber stands on 2,700,000 acres of forest lands, the development of thousands of public camp grounds and the extension of erosion control programs. The workers have spent 3,800,000 man-days fighting forest fires, conducted campaigns against insects and destructive diseases over 15,000,000 acres, built 87,000 miles of truck trails and other roads, constructed 45,000 miles of telephone lines, and erected 3,000 fire lookouts. About 50,000 young men have been taught to read and write, over 400,000 have taken high school courses and 50,000 college courses.

Federal Economics.—The first quarter receipts of the federal government were \$150,000,000 less than had been officially anticipated, in spite of the fact that March taxes amounted to \$700,272,831, 69 percent more than in March, 1936. The rise in prices of many basic commodities and the fall of the price of government bonds and the tightening money market—the increased demand for money and credit in business—have also been recently noteworthy. In a press conference on April 2 the President voiced his disapproval of the trend of prices of durable goods to outrun wages. The government, he said, plans to curtail its purchases of durable goods and to emphasize the purchase of consumers goods. The chief means will be to concentrate relief expenses in projects with small material and large labor costs. He reported telling congressional sponsors of a renewed PWA bill involving an additional authorization of \$300,000,000, that he felt PWA should function after June 30 on the \$155,000,000 of "old" money that remains in its revolving fund. President Roosevelt is believed to favor \$1,500,000,000 as the relief appropriation for the next fiscal year. The United States Conference of Mayors communicated to the President a request that the federal government contribute \$2,200,000,000 for WPA during the next year, without cutting out all PWA work and supplementing this by new housing construction in line with the Wagner housing bill. All these leads brought renewed pressure from those who believe the budget should be carefully balanced, with or without new taxation. The National Economy League led the campaign for a balanced budget. The administration has indicated that no new taxes are expected in the next few years, but President Roosevelt emphasized that such a prediction can hardly be absolute. That the possibility of falling markets for federal securities and a general rise of interest rates is distasteful to public authorities was indicated on April 5, when the Federal Reserve Board announced that its open market committee was prepared to purchase government securities to maintain an orderly market, to facilitate adjustments of member banks to increased cash reserve requirements already ordered, and to preserve the easy-money policy.

The Play and Screen

Red Harvest

"RED HARVEST" is a panorama rather than a play. Though there are in it scenes fitted for the theatre, scenes both poignant and real, there is, aside from a very slender sentimental relation between a cynical surgeon and a capable chief nurse, no unifying element of story. Walter Charles Roberts, who wrote the play, evidently knew the Great War at first hand, especially on its hospital side, and he was certainly moved by what he saw. Moreover, he is able to convey his impression visually and orally. We see and feel the suffering, the pettinesses and the heroism of war as it passes through the dressing-stations; we see and feel it as if we were a part of it. This is all to the good, and up to this point Mr. Roberts proves that he knows the trade of the playwright. But local color and character drawing in its more superficial aspects are not enough. The dramatist must be able to synthesize and unify, to bring out the conflicts of will and ideas and ideals and to embody them in human conduct. He may do this either by telling an absorbing story of external action, by presenting the clash of internal emotions, or by even the clash of intellectual concepts; the great dramas of the world, the "Hamlets" and the "Macbeths," combine all these qualities; a successful play must have at least one of them. It is here that "Red Harvest" fails. Mr. Roberts gives us real people and real conversation and places and objects that are real, but he omits any driving force of plot or any unifying core of meaning. His people act, but they do not react and interact. It is a pity, for had he been as successful in rearing his structure as he is in laying its foundations he would have produced a play of unusual quality.

Brock Pemberton gives it an excellent production, and Antoinette Perry has directed it on the whole shrewdly. Leona Powers's impersonation of the chief nurse is incisive, authoritative, human; almost equally good is Fred-eric Tozere's projection of the lazy, cynical surgeon; excellent are Elizabeth Love and Margaret Mullen as two of the nurses; and there are a lot of doughboys who are doughboys to the life. Yet acted and directed even as well as it is and in settings as effective as are John Root's, it begins after the first half-hour to pall. Horrors and verity of individual characterization are not enough. An audience demands more than this, for this it can get in the novel or a book of war photographs. It demands a story or at least dramatic suspense and clash of wills, and these—except vaguely in the scenes between the chief nurse and the surgeon—"Red Harvest" does not possess. (At the National Theatre.)

Cornelia Otis Skinner

EXCEPT for the appearances of Maurice Evans, John Gielgud, Katharine Cornell and Alla Nazimova the present season has not been rich in imaginative acting, and hence it is a pleasure that we can add at the very end of the dramatic year another name—that of Cornelia Otis Skinner. Miss Skinner's art deepens and broadens with

each new appearance, displays a greater maturity and a wider variety. She is today the Yvette Guilbert of the American theatre. She did not add any new evocation of her genius this year, but in the things she has given us before she has risen to even greater heights. Of her impersonations—let us not call them by any such hum-drum term as "monologues"—"The Loves of Charles II" is probably the finest. Both in its writing and in its interpretations Miss Skinner evokes the period and the personalities with extraordinary power. It would be impossible to state of which art she is more perfectly the mistress—that of the dramatist or the actress. She is supreme in both. (At the Lyceum Theatre.)

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Seventh Heaven

TEN YEARS ago Fox Films gave "Seventh Heaven" a production of inspiring quality, and it has since been remembered by a great many as one of the last outstanding plays of the silent camera. Today, the same company clearly demonstrates that if there are to be remakes, this is how they should be remade—with a modernization so deft that all spiritual qualities inherent in the old are retained. There are again oversentimentalities, but the tenderness with which they are treated, and the simple comedy, thrill and realistic insights into the squalid corners of Paris work a balance sufficient to sustain conviction of the idyllic love of Chico, valiant street washer, and the abused waif, Diane. James Stewart plays a remarkable Chico. Simone Simon is a lovable and pretty Diane rather than the beaten, bewildered drudge who brought considerably more pity in Austin Strong's original play.

Director Henry King draws out the last possible portion of dramatic intensity, as he guides the girl from the hopelessness of the gutter on up to the "heaven" in Chico's protecting seventh-floor garret, a happiness that crashes when war comes, and she lives alone for four years on faith and hope and her love for Chico, until he returns, blind, but happy in reunion.

Tsar to Lenin

LENAUER INTERNATIONAL FILMS, a comparatively young film importer and recorded as unallied with the Soviet's own Amkino film-propaganda agency in the United States, offers "Tsar to Lenin" as "an unbiased and authentic account of the turbulent years which shook the world." Some of the pictures, it was said, were designed to be used as propaganda for the White Armies, others for the Red, with hundreds of official photographers of the Soviet, Germany, France, Britain and Japan reputedly participating in filming Russia from 1912 to 1925. Other pictures were taken by American war correspondents and by private adventurers, and even the royal cameramen of Czar Nicholas II unwittingly contributed. Political significances are pronounced, as revolutionary clouds gather, Czar and Czarina are overthrown and the bloody chaos of the post-revolutionary periods ensues. It is an outstanding example of the use of the motion picture in presenting history from actual scenes.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

THE CALVERT CELEBRATION

WE PRINT below some of the more important of the many letters received by us in connection with our annual commemoration of the founding of Maryland, on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1634, by the Calvert associates led by Lord Baltimore. A letter from the President of the United States is quoted in our editorial, on page 680.

FROM THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND Annapolis, Md.

... More than 300 years ago there landed . . . in Maryland a small band of courageous and God-fearing settlers. They came to our shores seeking the right to worship their God as their consciences dictated, and, as a result of their indomitable courage, their Christian spirit and faith in the righteousness of their cause, there was established under the guidance and protection of Almighty God the nucleus of our nation, exemplifying freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of conscience. Thus was forged the strongest link in the chain of liberty, which finally encompassed the entire continent of North America and crystalized in these great United States. Maryland was that link, and today stands out as the first state to truly sponsor religious freedom and toleration. . . .

It is true that others came to the shores of America, and they too sought religious freedom, the right to worship their God in their own way, but such bands of voyagers were invariably co-religionists. . . . Their purpose was to secure for themselves freedom to worship in their own way, and no offer was to made to tolerate any faith other than their own. They confined themselves solely to the securing of freedom for themselves against interference by others. Different, however, was this colony of St. Mary's established by Lord Baltimore. While it entertained the same purpose—that is, to secure the right to worship God free from political control—they had a broader and more tolerant vision, and colonized with the sole idea that all creeds should be free to worship without interference from the State. . . . The principles for which it stands are fundamental to the happiness and freedom of our people. Whenever these doctrines are infringed upon by temporal power, whether it be through the action of the federal or the state government, then so surely will the foundations of liberty fall into decay. . . .

Therefore, let us not only rejoice in commemorating and doing honor to a band of courageous men who, 303 years ago, established this great principle under which we are now living, but let us also bow the knee in grateful thanks and appreciation to the Divine Leadership which brought them to this land.

HARRY W. NICE.

FROM THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK Albany, N. Y.

... I should like to extend my sincere congratulations to The Calvert Associates on their observance in New York City on April 5 of the 303rd anniversary of the founding of our sister state, Maryland, which had

such an important part in the encouragement and development of religious liberty in America. It is a source of pride to the citizens of New York that under the settlement of this commonwealth by the Dutch in 1624, the principle of toleration and freedom of conscience was observed. Before the conclusion of the Dutch period, Protestant and Catholic, Gentile and Jew, were welcomed to the province. This significant recognition of one of the cardinal rights of man has been perpetuated in New York through the years to the present day.

THE COMMONWEAL, the organ of The Calvert Associates, is performing a valuable service to our nation in spreading the doctrine of class cooperation, racial goodwill and religious freedom. This solidarity of forbearance and understanding will help to create a greater and better country. I am happy to extend a welcome to The Calvert Associates and hope that they will be increasingly successful in their advocacy of a better comprehension of our human privilege and our associated obligations as enlightened citizens of the United States.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN.

FROM THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA Harrisburg, Pa.

... The celebration in honor of the 303rd anniversary of the founding of Maryland, sponsored by The Calvert Associates through their official publication THE COMMONWEAL, is a project worthy of wide support by the people of America. The principle of personal liberty, which lies at the root of our democracy, became firmly established through the earnest efforts and convictions of the early settlers of our nation. Eminent among these early settlements was that of Maryland, which was not only among the first, but among the strongest guardians of liberty in our country. On foundations laid by these men, America has risen and become known throughout the world as the Land of Liberty. The position occupied by the United States with respect to this principle, which today is so seriously threatened in many other nations, may be attributed to the unshakable convictions of forefathers such as those who founded the state of Maryland. THE COMMONWEAL, official organ of The Calvert Associates, has made a signal contribution in promoting and maintaining religious and civic liberty by its constant aggressive support of American institutions.

The benefits which have accrued to the American people through institutions which have evolved through centuries of struggle, may be applied to the international scene. The Calvert Associates, because of the universality of their ideals, occupy a most advantageous position to promote this end. Science has brought the physical world into a smaller compass, but no institution has succeeded in establishing complete understanding, good-will, and peace among the peoples of the world. This principle of liberty, long and devotedly served by THE COMMONWEAL and The Calvert Associates, lies at the foundation of international amity. . . . Through it . . . down-trodden nations will be pointed toward universal happiness. . . .

The observance this April of the 303rd anniversary of the founding of Maryland is a tribute to the part played by that state in the establishment of American liberty. Through our social institutions of church, state and school this principle has thrived. Through it, under the nurture of tolerance, compassion and charity, mankind has been given new hope: that as long as our civilization lasts, the spiritual urge, nourished by organizations and institutions devoted to great ideals, will call men and women toward the hopeful banner of the universal brotherhood of man.

GEORGE H. EARLE.

FROM THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND

Providence, R. I.

... Permit me to extend to cordial greetings of the land of Roger Williams to THE COMMONWEAL on the occasion of the 303rd anniversary of the founding of Maryland. Maryland and Rhode Island were the pioneers of religious freedom on this continent. The founders of those states at the dim dawn of the modern era ... had the courage, foresight and great-heartedness to advocate ... the right of every individual to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. May the wisdom of their preachments that chart the course to security and peace continue to guide mankind.

ROBERT E. QUINN.

FROM THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

Richmond, Va.

... I note that on Monday, April 5, The Calvert Associates, a non-profit-making, educational society founded for the purpose of promoting and maintaining the American institutions of religious and civic liberty, will hold a celebration in St. Patrick's Cathedral in honor of the 303rd anniversary of the founding of Maryland and Maryland's part in the establishment of religious liberty in America. It is a matter of gratification to the people of this country that when religious and civic liberties in other lands are overthrown or threatened, the liberties are upheld in the United States. We are impressed with the need and importance of promoting harmony and cooperation among the various classes and racial elements composing our nation.

Please permit me to extend my best wishes for the success of your celebration.

GEORGE C. PEERY.

FROM THE MAYOR OF NEW YORK

New York, N. Y.

... I join with The Calvert Associates in observing and hailing the wisdom and vision of the founders of the state of Maryland in giving to the world, 303 years ago, one of the first real and lasting toleration acts, establishing freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of conscience.

The provisions of that act established the doctrine of religious freedom in this country. The religious views of all the inhabitants of Maryland were then and there protected and later that principle found its place in the Constitution of the United States. Today the average

American regards that sacred right as an important part of American philosophy of government.

Considering the time and the conditions of the world 300 years ago, we are indeed justified in paying tribute to the vision, the courage and the fine spirit of liberty displayed by the framers of the Toleration Act and the people in adopting, preserving and passing it on to future generations. It is depressing though that in our time, in the year of Our Lord 1937, conditions in certain parts of the world are such as to emphasize the wisdom of the remarkable doctrine, and to cause us to pause in horror that people are today being oppressed and persecuted because of their religious belief or worshiping God according to their conscience and conviction.

New York typifies the spirit of toleration. Here we have demonstrated to the world that people of all faiths may live as neighbors peacefully and happily. We have learned that religious hatreds in our enlightened day are possible only if artificially stimulated by mean, cruel, selfish men. We have also learned that intolerance and religious persecution endeavor to reach out and spread. Therefore it is quite in keeping on an occasion of this kind not only to remind the world of the Maryland Doctrine of Religious Freedom but also to warn the world that anything contrary or any policy of religious limitations, persecution or oppression can find no place in our land and cannot be countenanced no matter where practised.

FIORIELLO LA GUARDIA.

FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE N.C.W.C.

Washington, D. C.

... It is a matter of great encouragement that our Catholic press is constantly extending its influence amongst our fellow citizens. This achievement is the more notable today because our press for the most part has maintained the severe standards of journalistic honesty and good sense. Evidencing the truth, unfortunately, offers little chance for the spectacular appeal.

The early Calverts championed a new idea in this hemisphere. It has become a cherished ideal in our national life. The present-day Calverts through the pages of THE COMMONWEAL must protect that ideal of religious and political liberty.

My prayers join those of your friends throughout the country in asking God to bless you and the members of the staff and to prosper your important work.

VERY REV. MICHAEL J. READY.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

New York, N. Y.

... We should never forget that it was in Maryland that religious toleration was promised and accorded at a time when religious discrimination and religious persecution were very usual. The history of the state offers a noble record of the development of those ideals and principles which the whole world now recognizes as American.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

Books

Two Indispensable Books

Damien the Leper, by John Farrow. New York: Sheed and Ward. \$2.50.

Saint Francis de Sales, by Michael Müller. New York: Sheed and Ward. \$2.25.

BY ONE of those coincidences which seem at least personally providential, I happened, during Lent, to read the above-named books practically simultaneously—although it is true that once I had begun John Farrow's book I read straight through to its ending, my only regret being that it was no longer. Yet at the same time, I was reading Michael Müller's biography, or, rather, his character portrait, of Saint Francis de Sales. Certainly I shall reread the Farrow masterpiece of swift, lucid, interpretative narrative of a powerful moral hero: a model of the life of a saintly religious man, who was very much of a man, especially in his masculine faults and failings; but a man transmuted into heroic sanctity by his courage, his will, his practical love for the most woefully stricken of all his brothers in God. And certainly I shall reread Michael Müller's solid yet never stolid revelation of the uniquely modern values of the life and work and writings of the patron of the Catholic press. But I cannot wait for rereadings to express my complete enthusiasm for two of the best books known to me in all the contemporary literature of biography. I feel assured that rereading would only deepen my approval, and reveal stronger reasons for it than did my first swift devouring of their fascinating stories, of these skilfully composed studies of two great pillars of the Catholic faith; but I am so desirous of finding wide audiences at once for these thoroughly-to-be-recommended books, that I hasten to cry them up as promptly and as vigorously as I know how to do.

I must confess that I had thought that all had been said about Father Damien that was needed, and that a new book could only be a recocking of the contents of other books. I was gloriously undeceived. Again I learned the lesson of how the authentic literary artist, provided he has a genuine interest in his subject, can make that subject new and fresh and beautiful, no matter how many other writers have fumbled with the same task. As for Saint Francis de Sales, I had been so fed up with luscious extracts taken from the most syrupy portions of his letters and books, by poor (because too subservient and conventional) translators, that I must confess I had wondered at the wisdom of the Holy See in appointing this (apparently) sentimental French bishop, so taken up with the confidences of aristocratic lady devotees, as the patron of a press which today so obviously needs virile and positive influence. Well, Dr. Müller shows me how wrong I was and how right was the Holy See, and how, and why, Saint Francis de Sales is precisely the truly modern-minded, astute, yet candid leader which our Catholic press requires.

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NEXT WEEK

In CASUAL OBSERVATIONS ON MEXICO Richard Pattee writes, "For many Catholics, the period of trial through which they are passing has deepened religious conviction and pious practise. Persecution has vitalized Catholic living in Mexico." He also deals at some length with that persecution and its Marxist slant and expresses some hope that a measure of freedom of conscience may be evolved. . . . CATHOLICS IN THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT, by Bernard M. Flynn, is a warning more pertinent for the Middle West than the non-cooperative industrial East: that "the Cooperative Movement cannot succeed as a Catholic movement unless it be animated by the Liturgical Movement." It is an ardent plea for the proper relation of means and ends. . . . In COMMUNISM IN ACTION James A. Corbett gives a few excerpts from André Gide's recent book, "Return from the U.S.S.R." M. Gide was compelled in all honesty to revise radically his opinion of Russia because of the elements he encountered there last summer, and Mr. Corbett presents this as proof that Communism in practise does not work. . . . AN AMERICAN OLD VIC, by Grenville Vernon, is an account of the formation of the New American Theatre, a new group which will be devoted to classic, particularly Shakespearean, plays. In his work as drama critic for THE COMMONWEAL Mr. Vernon finds that the cult of the soap-box theatre is on the wane and ascribes it to the fact that the younger critics were so taken aback by the beauties and depths of John Gielgud's "Hamlet" and Maurice Evans's "Richard II." Mr. Vernon tells of the woeful lack of opportunities for instruction in the classic drama in this country, and expects the new group to influence the American theater profoundly.

saints, to a point at which it should be the ambition of all our new writers to maintain it. Sincere congratulations to Sheed and Ward. Again they prove themselves to be far and away the most useful of all Catholic publishers in the English language. They do not wait, suspiciously, for authors to come begging at their doors. They go through the world hunting writers, and stimulating and encouraging them when found. These two books are rich additions to an already overflowing bag of game.

MICHAEL WILLIAMS.

Personal History

On Journey, by Vida Scudder. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. \$4.00.

MY EXPERIENCE as a reader of Miss Scudder goes back some thirty years to her "Saint Catherine of Siena as Seen in Her Letters" and the complementary volume, "The Disciple of a Saint." And doubtless there are thousands of other readers who will also welcome this autobiography described on the dust-cover as "the story of a famous woman's spiritual career."

Miss Scudder was born in India of Congregational missionary parents in 1861. On her father's tragic death a year later by drowning, her mother returned to New England, and there Vida grew up. When the child was about ten, her mother fell under the influence of Phillip Brooks and became an Episcopalian. Vida (christened Davida) followed. Experience and study in Europe led her to sense the importance of Catholic tradition, and she came to love Catherine of Siena, Francis of Assisi and many of the mystics. Some of her admirers thought that it was only a question of time before these saints would lead her into the Roman Church. But apparently she felt that she shared in Catholic tradition as an Anglo-Catholic, and that as such the saints belonged as much to her as if she were a Roman Catholic. At present she is a sort of eclectic Anglo-Catholic, and judging from her own account there is no probability of her entering the Church of Francis and Catherine.

For the rest, the book is concerned largely with Miss Scudder's experiences as a professor of English—a very inspiring teacher she must have been, reciting the "Veni Creator" on the way to class and using literature as a means of exciting interest in social problems—and the development of her own social conscience through college settlements to a rather diffident Communism. It is written with Miss Scudder's customary charm and artistry, with many interesting insights and sidelights. As one reads, there emerges the portrait of a cultured, alert-minded woman who has grown old gracefully. Now in the evening of life she is serene, joyous, at peace. Not even her keen appreciation of social ills and her intense longing to set them right can destroy that inner peace based on trust in God. She has attained something of Franciscan joyousness. Perhaps the highest praise one can give an autobiography is to say that it creates a regret that one has not had the privilege of knowing the author face to face.

J. ELLIOT ROSS.

More or Less Gush

Queen's Folly, A Romance, by Elswyth Thane. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.

MISS THANE has shown in some of her previous books that she is a little unbalanced on the subject of Queen Elizabeth. She now shows that she has that sort of adoration for all things English which comes to its perfect flower only in an American heart and which makes the English themselves blush crimson. For the English are not only puzzled by it, they would be angry at it except for its obviously good intentions. Hatred could not be more blind than this delirious gush, this frenzied sentimentality.

In 1553, Anthony Brand, an impoverished young gentleman in the employment of Robert Dudley, afterward Earl of Leicester, did the Princess Elizabeth a service. When she came to the throne she rewarded him with her portrait and a tumble-down priory in Worcester. This Anthony and his descendants treat as a shrine in which Elizabeth's picture—as she had appeared rattling with pearls and dazzling with diamonds—is given a semi-religious veneration.

For nearly four hundred years the Brands occupy the house, loving it more than they ever loved their brides, and worshiping at the shrine. Anthony, killed in the Low Countries on a mission for his Queen, comes back to haunt the priory. All the other Brands die there and pass on the torch of devotion to their sons. Queen Elizabeth's portrait still hangs on the wall.

In 1936, a wealthy American lady and her niece rent the priory from its impoverished owner. The girl of course falls in love with the house and with the current Brand, just in the nick of time saving the portrait of Queen Elizabeth from being sold, and marrying the man.

In spite of all the incredible nonsense—for instance, after the battle of Worcester a Roundhead officer fights a duel with a Brand to decide whether or not he is to burn the portrait as (of all things in the world!) "papistical"—and in spite of an utter lack of historical sense, Miss Thane has some excellent scenes and writes so charmingly that she almost persuades us to accept her preposterous story. If she would only get rid of her fanatical Elizabeth-worship and Anglomania and write of what she understands she could produce a really good book. But I fear her disease is incurable.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

Smugness and Irony

Lords and Masters, by A. G. Macdonell. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

THERE is but one word, exaggerated though it may seem, to approximate the reviewer's feelings when turning the last page of this book—and that word is, inconsolable. For a great pleasure had, much too soon, come to an end. To the mind of one reader at least, with "Lords and Masters" Mr. Macdonell has lit the dull contemporary literary heavens with a star of brilliance.



MORE BOOKS IN BUD

To the casual reader Mr. Belloc's new book, *AN ESSAY ON THE NATURE OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND* (\$1.25) might seem a simple enough Guide to Modern England, and the minds of modern Englishmen; a useful book for puzzled travellers. You must read it carefully to see the veiled anger under the smooth words and to realize that this short book is one of the fiercest and most searching criticisms of England ever written. Mr. Belloc looks at England from the standpoint of the larger world of Europe: he writes of it as no born Englishman would, and as no foreigner could.

* * *

To satisfy a growing curiosity about Maritain Dr. Phelan has written a little book, *JACQUES MARI-TAIN* (\$1.00). The author is a close personal friend of the philosopher's, and one of the very few able to give us both a sketch of his life and a very understanding (and understandable) analysis of his mind.

* * *

We publish a new novel this week, *CANDLE FOR THE PROUD* by Francis MacManus (\$2.50). The hero is Donnacha MacConnara, greatest of the 18th-century Irish poets, a scholar, wanderer and fighter who lived "when a dark shadow was over the nation". The author's first novel (*Stand and Give Challenge* \$2.00) may now be had from us, though we did not publish it originally. This had the same hero; you need not have read it to enjoy the new one, but having read either, you will want the other. Francis MacManus is, we believe, the beginning of the end of the melancholy heresy that if an Irishman is to be a great writer, he must first apostatize. Of his first novel the *Herald Tribune* said: "As fresh as a play by Sean O'Casey, or an extravaganza by Francis Steuart . . . Donnacha in love, Donnacha fighting, marrying and raising children was always a figure to behold and be proud of, and as Mr. MacManus's swift idiomatic prose gives him to you, he has all the stature of those Medieval fighters who seem to live on for ever, if only to confound Cromwell and those who came after him, and to make of every Irish renaissance a virtual reaffirmation."

* * *

Twelve days ago we published *DAMIEN THE LEPER* by John Farrow (\$2.50) and a month ago *ST. FRANCIS DE SALES* by Michael Muller (\$2.50). *MICHAEL WILLIAMS* says they are the two best books known to him in all the contemporary literature of biography.



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To have written a sheaf of such scintillating irony as is here, would have been in itself an enviable achievement. But it is an even greater thing to have molded, as Mr. Macdonell has, that irony into a novel replete with suspense, variety and color, peopled at all times with human beings absorbing in their actuality.

Cads and heroes march across his pages, familiar, convincing and eternally entertaining. His women are delicious, and he has treated them with chivalry. Even upon those whom he has endowed with shallowness of intellect, he has bestowed a winning nobility. Of these, the shallowest react unerringly, automatically, to their innate conviction that men are properly the lords and masters of earth, and incidentally of every woman upon it. His clever women are not so sure; but are nevertheless held fast by tragic emotional bonds to as great a subjection to their men; to the urge to sacrifice themselves equally for them. Doing so with considerable mental reservations concerning the fitness of the male as lord and master, they are, naturally, not nearly so happy about it as their less intellectual sisters.

The pivot of the story is the powerful, attractive James Hanson, who has amassed a fortune by somewhat unconventional means in the steel industry—and reared a family by extremely conventional means in South Kensington. Late in life, his partner, a Jew, teaches him that the soul needs a greater satisfaction than money and power can bestow. Together, they agree to attempt a colossal feat—the forestalling of a world war.

In indicting British smugness with pen as finely and sharply pointed as any ever lifted, Mr. Macdonell has at the same time indicted the contemporary world. But for locale, here the stupidities and sins of politics even as we know them in America, of society, the army, government, industry and finance are disclosed with biting humor. There is a flawless probing of the weak spots in Anglo-Saxon civilization. Nor is modern Germany spared the skilled thrusts of Mr. Macdonell's irony.

HELEN WALKER HOMAN.

Around the Globe

Cruise of the Conrad, by Alan Villiers. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.75.

THAT this seamanly record of a notable cruise ends on a melancholy note is a tribute to Alan Villiers, who spent what money he had making it, put the zest of two years and many dreams into it and felt, when he had circumnavigated the globe in one of the last square-rigged ships afloat, that he had fulfilled a great desire but one not in the ways of men today. Those who remember his book, "Grain Race," well know how this young Australian some fifteen years ago took to the sea in sailing ships, and afterward made of their voyages briny classics between book covers; for here is one who has loved the old traditions of the sea and lamented their passing.

Buying this old Danish school ship and taking its crew (partly adventurous youngsters who paid something, as cadets) 60,000 miles around the world was his panegyric to those bygone traditions. He crossed seven seas and

four oceans in a 100-foot, 212-ton little frigate that often came near disaster but never let him down—as he, surely, never let down the standards of a sailing master.

If one sometimes finds the day-by-day log a trifle tedious it is not because the telling ever falters—for Villiers writes graphically as few landsmen and, I think, no mariners do today—but because his love is for the sea and his boat rather than for the characters shipping with him. He does well in describing some ports at which they called, but he is chary of words even then, and one sees he longs to describe the putting out to sea again; but of the human life on shipboard, the men with him and their ways over two years of alternate hardship and exhilaration, he tells too little. One would like to know more. "Grain Race," though not as important a book in some ways, had the drama of the race of sailing vessels trying to beat the others back to Europe.

Some of Villiers's most interesting comments are about the devastation white men have wreaked on the southern islands; a position open to controversy, doubtless, but a viewpoint not to be overlooked by those who wish to evaluate honestly the work of missionaries among the Polynesians and Melanesians. For the rest, anyone to whom the sea is both a love and a life—if only in imagination—will find pleasure in these salty pages. One could wish he hadn't had to sell the fine old Conrad when he got back to New York.

HARRY MCGUIRE.

The Destinies of Spain

Memoirs of a Spanish Princess, H. R. H. The Infanta Eulalia; translated by Phyllis Megroz. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.50.

THIS book by the Infanta Eulalia, the aunt of Ex-King Alphonso, despite its sentimentality and its naïveté, is of interest because of the picture it paints of the class which controlled the destinies of Spain prior to the republic. The Infanta's picture is a tragic one. It shows the stupidity, the callousness, the lack of any notion of what was happening in the world which informed the Spanish aristocracy, and which she states Alphonso fought against in vain. The horrible happenings in Spain today would have been prevented had the Spanish ruling classes been able to see an inch beyond their noses.

The Infanta is no republican, but she was and is somewhat of a liberal despite her admiration for Primo De Rivera. She disliked the narrowness of the Spanish court, and travel and the friendship with leaders of other nations had opened her eyes to the dangers threatening her country. She deplores the fall of the monarchy, but she is not astonished by it. Perhaps the most charming portion of her book is her account of her audience with Leo XIII, to whom she applied for the annulment of her marriage. Her picture of the personality and goodness of Pope Leo is most charmingly done. All in all, the volume is a pleasing one, and we leave its reading with the feeling that its author is a woman of kind heart and possessed of a clear if not profound mentality.

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What England Thought

Victorian England; Portrait of an Age, by G. M. Young. New York: Oxford University Press. \$3.00.

ONE MAY scoff at the kind of generalizing writers like Mr. Young attempt, but when done well it is very interesting reading and very instructive comment. The book endeavors to show what England was thinking in order to help us understand what England was doing; and though the emphasis placed on religion, morality and social reflection must inevitably depend somewhat on the author's own quite modern predilections, there is little doubt that Mr. Young is pretty near the middle of the road and therefore elbows few of us off it. He has a gift for phrasing that is epigrammatic without being smart. This convinces us that he is feeling the texture of his material rather than the wave of his own mind. The material is, of course, largely determined by the social and economic forces which all but dominated Victorian England, but Mr. Young is wisely aware that these do not breed all of life.

The Court

The Supreme Court Issue and the Constitution: Comments Pro and Con by Distinguished Men; edited by William R. Barnes and A. W. Littlefield. New York: Barnes and Noble. \$1.00, cloth; \$.75, paper.

THE GREAT many comments gathered into this book are interesting too exclusively in one way. It is possible to form an opinion about an issue such as the President's Court proposal on the basis of men or on the basis of knowledge and reasoning. This book helps those trying the first way much more than those trying the second. Not exclusively; there are valuable charts and tables and even the Constitution itself, and some of the comments involve exposition and reasoning, but many of the distinguished men have not worked out their opinions with sufficient clarity and conciseness. The triviality of some of the comments is shocking. The editing seems genuinely impartial and the makeup of the book excellent. It is a contemporary type of pamphleteering of a high character.

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